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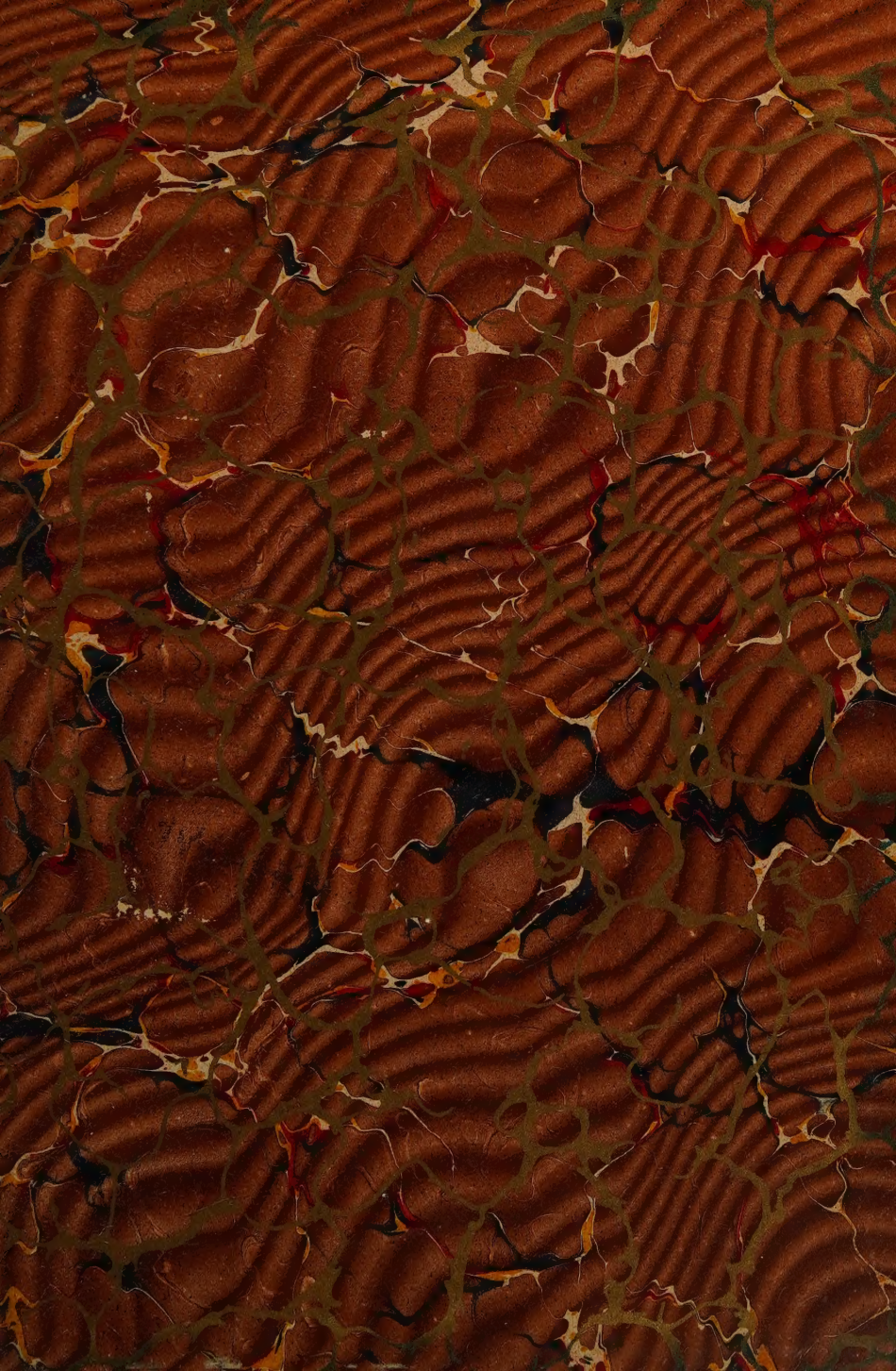

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

Isaac Shelby

THE MAKERS OF CANADA

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

BY

DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT

TORONTO

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CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I	
THE CANADA ACT	1
CHAPTER II	
THE SIMCOE FAMILY	15
CHAPTER III	
THE MILITARY JOURNAL: 1777 TO 1781 . .	23
CHAPTER IV	
BEFORE UPPER CANADA: 1781 TO 1791 . .	39
CHAPTER V	
"PIONEERS, O PIONEERS!" . . .	51
CHAPTER VI	
THE LEGISLATURE	79
CHAPTER VII	
LAND AND TRADE	101
CHAPTER VIII	
THE ALARMS OF WAR . . .	117

CHAPTER IX Page

THE CHURCHES AND EDUCATION . . 155

CHAPTER X

A SILVAN COURT 177

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDING A PROVINCE 195

CHAPTER XII

AFTER UPPER CANADA . . . 219

CHAPTER XIII

NON SIBI SED PATRIÆ 223

INDEX 237

CHAPTER I

THE CANADA ACT

IT was on February 25th, 1791, that a royal message apprised the House of Commons that it was the intention to divide Quebec into two separate provinces, and the bill was introduced on March 7th by Pitt. The advisability of repealing the Quebec Act had been the subject of much agitation and debate, and hardly had the peace been concluded when demands were made, mainly by the English-speaking inhabitants of the province, for a properly constituted House of Assembly and for the trial by jury in criminal cases.

The portions of the province above Montreal had become settled by soldiers of the disbanded regiments and by Loyalist refugees, and they desired a change in the tenure of land to free and common socage from the feudal tenure which obtained under the Quebec Act of 1774. The partizan bias of some of the foremost agitators for these changes, in what afterwards became the lower province, led to proposals designed rather to place the strength of government in the hands of the minority than to establish upon broad and generous principles a government for the people, legislating for the good of the province. The spokesman of these agitators

for constitutional changes, Mr. Adam Lymburner, a Quebec merchant of Scottish extraction, requested that one half the representatives from Lower Canada should be chosen from the towns, which would throw the balance of power into the hands of his party and race. But it was with a very different desire and actuated by a nobler motive that the bill which was to inaugurate the principle of colonial self-government was designed and carried. Grenville, writing to Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, then governor-general of Canada, on October 20th, 1789, accompanied a draft of the proposed bill with a general survey of the measure. The letter contains a paragraph elucidating the principles upon which the bill was drawn: "Your Lordship will observe that the general object of this Plan is to assimilate the constitution of that Province to that of Great Britain, as nearly as the difference arising from the manners of the People and from the present situation of the Province will admit. In doing this a considerable degree of attention is due to the prejudices and habits of the French Inhabitants, who compose so large a proportion of the community, and every degree of caution should be used to continue to them the enjoyment of those civil and religious Rights which were secured to them by the Capitulation of the Province, or have since been granted by the liberal and enlightened spirit of the British Government."

It is upon the life and power of these principles

that the welfare and harmonious permanency of the Canadian confederation depends.

Such expressions could not have fallen coldly upon the mind of Dorchester; they are in effect his own, and are merely the echo of opinions and sentiments by which his conduct as governor was consistently guided. The weight of his judgment was thrown against the division of the province. He brought to the criticism of the draft bill his great knowledge of the condition of the country and his sympathy with the inhabitants. His views previously expressed were that for some time the only organization required by the settlements which were to be included in the upper province was that provided for a county; and a survey of the early Acts and proceedings of the legislature of Upper Canada will show this to have been to some extent the case. But the importance of the Canada Act lay not so much in its immediate necessity as in the principle of colonial self-government which it carried into effect. While really an Act of separation, by its clauses cleaving one province into two and providing for the self-rule of each, it was also distinctly the forerunner of those Acts of union which cemented the dominion and made confederation. In fact confederation, even in its present sense, was not unknown to the statesmen of the great minister's day.

A statement is here and there made that the present Canadian political union is artificial and will

not bear the storm of change, which will break upon it from alien provincial interests, and the very weight of growth which will encumber it with almost imperial burdens. But it augurs well for the life of this many-branched tree that its planting is a century old and that its growth has been gradual.

Colonel Morse was doubtless the first to suggest the advantage of a union of the colonies in North America. In 1783 he pointed out that a federation of the Maritime Provinces with Canada would lead to the upbuilding of a great and prosperous domain.

Chief-Justice Smith, who may be said to have drafted the first scheme for confederation of the British possessions in America, was a native of the old province of New York. In the year 1763 he was appointed chief-justice of the province. During the time of doubts and agitations, when the revolutionary spirit was rising like a wave, Smith remained neutral, but in 1778 he espoused the British cause. Upon the conclusion of the war he accompanied Carleton to England, and was subsequently appointed chief-justice. Whatever opinion may be held as to Smith's character and motives, and both have been impugned, it cannot be denied that his judgment was sound and his opinions of the causes of the revolution consistent with facts. He argued that the provinces had outgrown their forms of government, and that the small legislatures acting

independently had failed to create common political interests or to associate themselves as units in a confederated empire. His recommendation looked towards the provision of a legislative assembly and council for the whole of British America from Bermuda to Hudson Bay. The council was to consist of life members. The assembly was to be chosen by the provincial Houses. A governor-in-chief was to hold power above the lieutenant-governors, and was to have the option of assenting to a bill or reserving it for the royal decision. Provincial Acts were to be referred for approval to the federal or central government. In the main these terms and those of the British North America Act are synonymous but it needed nearly a century of political conflict before the colonies and the mother country were ready for so sweeping and so novel a change.

It had been the intention to introduce the bill for the division of the province during the previous session, but the uncertain state of the relations with Spain rendered this inadvisable. With war as a contingency it was deemed impolitic to further unsettle a colonial dependency which might become the cause of demands, if not the scene of actual invasion, by the United States. Dorchester, therefore, remained at his post and was not summoned to England until March of 1791. It was hoped that he might arrive in time to assist in clearing and adjusting the many points which still remained open and debatable. He did not arrive,

however, until the Act had become a statute. But the fullest discussion was given to the measure, and its opponents had the privilege of laying before the House the reasons which they had to urge against it. Lymburner was heard at the bar of the House on March 23rd, and presented the adverse views as forcibly as possible. Time has shown that many of the contentions were cogent, and that many more were unworthy of the stress laid upon them.

The difficulty of communication with the territory of the proposed upper province and its inland character, together with an alleged hostility of the inhabitants to any division, were points urged against the passage of the bill. The measure was criticized "as dangerous in every point of view to British interests in America, and to the safety, tranquillity, and prosperity of the inhabitants of the province of Quebec." His object, and that of the English merchants of the province, was to save themselves from the domination of the French-Canadians, and to this end he asked for a complete repeal of the Quebec Act and the inauguration of a new constitution "unembarrassed with any laws prior to this period." In this sentence he struck upon the main cause of the opposition both to the old conditions and the new proposals. It was to the French Civil Code and the feudal tenure that obtained under the Quebec Act and would be continued in Lower Canada under the provisions of the Canada Act that his party objected. If one large province

could be constituted, the English inhabitants west of Montreal would join those of their tongue in the older section of the country, and in the union would be a certain safety from French aggression. But his representations had not sufficient weight to alter the course of legislation.

Pitt, in introducing the bill, spoke at some length and stated that "he hoped the division would remove the differences of opinion which had arisen between the old and new inhabitants, since each province would have the right of enacting laws desired in its own House of Assembly." Burke and Fox appeared in conflict; the former supporting the division reasoning from the absurdity of attempting to amalgamate the two races, the latter opposing it with the statement that it was most desirable "to see the French and English inhabitants coalesce into one body." But the principles of the bill had no stronger supporter than Fox. "I am convinced," he said, "that the only means of retaining distant colonies with advantage is to enable them to govern themselves."

Among the members who took a deep interest and a prominent part in the discussions was one of the representatives for St. Maw's, Cornwall, Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe. His words were listened to with more than ordinary attention, for it was known that he had had some years' experience of British American affairs during the period of the Revolution, and that this experience

had led him to form opinions, which were entitled to consideration, upon the features necessary in a colonial constitution.

On Thursday, May 12th, 1791, in committee, he contributed to the discussion by reading an extract from an American paper to prove that congress thought a very small number of representatives sufficient for a western province, and that two or four would be enough to represent Montreal or Quebec. During the second reading on Monday, May 16th, he spoke forcibly in favour of the whole bill, and expressed confidence that it would be acceptable to the inhabitants of both provinces.

It was during the debate in committee upon the bill that the dramatic incident arose which marked the close of the life-long and intimate association between Fox and Burke. It is a peculiarity of our parliamentary system that these episodes may grow out of discussion upon matters to which they are foreign. And, from the clear sky of a debate upon this peaceful Act, fell the thunderbolt of quarrel which, when its work was completed, left but the wreck of a friendship, the most remarkable in modern political life. The participants were men of noble genius, they had been knit together for very many years, they were alike passionate and capable of deep feeling, and in their clash upon the battlefield where they had so often urged their forces against a common foe there is something tragic.

Burke, introducing the subject of the French Revolution, attacked bitterly the constitution of the new republic. Fox replied by criticizing the unseemliness of an attack, loaded with abuse, upon an event which nobody had sought to discuss. Burke immediately threw the personal element into the discussion, and brought up the question of Cazalès, the French royalist orator, who, as Carlyle says, "earned the shadow of a name." Repeatedly was he called to order, but he pressed on with rash and vehement eloquence. In vain did Fox allude feelingly to their past cordial relations. "During the American war," he said, "we had rejoiced together at the successes of a Washington, and sympathized almost in tears for the fall of a Montgomery." Burke complained of wanton personal attack and misrepresentation. "It is certainly an indiscretion at any period, especially at my time of life," he said, "to give my friends occasion to desert me, yet if my firm and steady adherence to the British constitution places me in such a dilemma I will risk all." Fox, with tears, exclaimed, "There is no loss of friends." "Yes," cried Burke, "there is a loss of friends. I know the price of my conduct. Our friendship is at an end." The association thus disrupted was never reformed. Suddenly and unexpectedly had the episode occurred, and before morning it was the talk of London and a week later of the country. The quarrel broke for a moment or two the peaceful monotony of the de-

bates upon the Canada Act. It was but an exhibition of personal passion and rancour, and left no trace upon the legislation which proceeded without any other obstruction. Upon May 14th, 1791, the bill became law.

Following closely Sir John G. Bourinot's *précis*, the provisions of the Act were as follows :—

" The legislative council was to be appointed by the king for life; in Upper Canada to consist of not less than seven, and in Lower Canada of not less than fifteen members. Members of the council and assembly must be of the age of twenty-one, and either natural-born subjects or naturalized by act of parliament, or subjects of the Crown by the conquest and cession of Canada. The sovereign might, if he thought proper, annex hereditary titles of honour to the right of being summoned to the legislative council in either province. The speaker of the council was to be appointed by the governor-general. The whole number of members in the assembly of Upper Canada was not to be less than sixteen ; in Lower Canada not less than fifty—to be chosen by a majority of votes in either case. The limits of districts returning representatives, and the number of representatives to each, were fixed by the governor-general. The county members were elected by owners of land in freehold, or in fief, or roture, to the value of forty shillings sterling a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of the same. Members for the towns

and townships were elected by persons having a dwelling-house and lot of ground therein of the yearly value of £5 sterling or upwards, or who, having resided in the town for twelve months previous to the issue of the election writ, should have *bona fide* paid one year's rent for the dwelling-house in which he shall have resided, at the rate of £10 sterling a year or upwards. No legislative councillor or clergyman could be elected to the assembly in either province. The governor was authorized to fix the time and place of holding the meeting of the legislature and to prorogue and dissolve it whenever he deemed either course expedient; but it was also provided that the legislature was to be called together once at least every year, and that each assembly should continue for four years, unless it should be sooner dissolved by the governor. It was in the power of the governor to withhold as well as to give the royal assent to all bills, and to reserve such as he should think fit for the signification of the pleasure of the Crown. The British parliament reserved to itself the right of providing regulations, imposing, levying, and collecting duties for the regulation of navigation and commerce to be carried on between the two provinces, or between either of them and any other part of the British dominions or any foreign country. Parliament also reserved the power of appointing or directing the payment of duties, but at the same time left the exclusive apportionment of all monies

levied in this way to the legislature, which could apply them to such public uses as it might deem expedient. It was also provided in the new constitution that all public functionaries, including the governor-general, should be appointed by the Crown, and removable at the royal pleasure. The free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was guaranteed permanently. The king was to have the right to set apart, for the use of the Protestant clergy in the colony, a seventh part of all uncleared Crown lands. The governors might also be empowered to erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the Church of England, and whilst power was given to the provincial legislatures to amend the provisions respecting allotments for the support of the Protestant clergy, all bills of such a nature could not be assented to until thirty days after they had been laid before both Houses of the imperial parliament. The governor and executive council were to remain a court of appeals until the legislatures of the provinces might make other provisions. The right of bequeathing property, real and personal, was to be absolute and unrestricted. All lands to be granted in Upper Canada were to be in free and common socage, as well as in Lower Canada, when the grantee desired it. English criminal law was to obtain in both provinces."

In a troubled session of parliament the bill probably passed as a comparatively unimportant though

necessary measure. Contemporary opinion and criticism laid more stress upon the disruption of the friendship between the two great Whigs and upon the message of March 28th, 1791, with its menace of war with Russia, which, but for the cool and intrepid retreat of Pitt, would have plunged the government down a precipice of ruin. But we now see these events in their true perspective, and no act of Pitt's long administration has greater relative importance than this colonial measure. Its gradual extension to all dependencies pacified them forever and bound them in perpetual loyalty to the Crown.

The achievements of peace are saner than those of war, and no statesman bases his monument upon a deeper foundation than when by his enactments he consults and ensures the welfare of people.

CHAPTER II

THE SIMCOE FAMILY

THE member for St. Maw's, John Graves Simcoe, who brought to the discussion of the Canada Act no ordinary experience of colonial conditions and affairs, was, under the provisions of the Act, appointed governor of the newly-created province of Upper Canada. He was the son of a naval captain, John Simcoe, and of Katherine Stamford, his wife. He was born at Cotterstock, in the county of Northumberland, on February 25th, 1752. He was named John after his father, and Graves after his godfather, Admiral Samuel Graves, who was his father's contemporary and friend. At the early age of forty-five, in the year 1759, John Simcoe ended his career. His qualities had already made him prominent among naval officers, and had he lived they would have carried him far upon the path of usefulness. His son, who inherited many of his commanding talents, also left his life at a point where the way seemed to broaden, and both men are greater in their promise of future accomplishment than in their actual performance. John Simcoe was promoted to the rank of captain in the year 1743 at the age of twenty-nine. In 1756-7 he was a member of the court-martial that found Admiral

Byng guilty of neglect of duty. In 1759 he sailed under Admiral Saunders in the famous fleet which played such an important part in the conquest of Canada. But he was destined to take no part in the active operations. On board his ship, the *Pembroke*, he died during the passage from Halifax to the river St. Lawrence.

John Graves Simcoe firmly believed that his father urged the attack on Quebec and was the principal means of the assault having taken place. It is stated that he was enabled to supply Wolfe with a chart of the river and with valuable information collected during an imprisonment at Quebec. No details of this capture and imprisonment are anywhere given and the story begins in shadow and does not close in the light. Wolfe and Saunders obtained their information as to the currents and soundings of the river from sources which are known. The prototype of this tale is that of Major Stobo, whose capture, detention in Quebec, and subsequent presence with Wolfe before the beleaguered city are authenticated.

Had Captain Simcoe lived, his ability and service would have gained him honour and advancement greater than the bestowal of the crest of the sea lion, which had been granted him on account of important services, and which seems to be the sole barren recognition which they called forth. He is everywhere mentioned as an officer of rare ability. His mind was alert and his judgment sound; wit-

ness this opinion of the importance of Quebec and Montreal given at a time when they were mere outposts in a wilderness: "Such is the happy situation of Quebec, or rather of Montreal, to which Quebec is the citadel, that with the assistance of a few sluices it will become the centre of communication between the Gulf of Mexico and Hudson Bay, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by an interior navigation; formed for drawing to itself the wealth and strength of the vast interjacent countries so advantageously placed, if not destined to lay the foundation of the most potent and best connected empire that ever awed the world."

Before Captain Simcoe's death the family resided in Northumberland but shortly after that event the widow and her two sons moved to Exeter. The younger of the boys was drowned while yet a child, and John Graves was left his mother's sole charge. He received his early education at the Free Grammar School at Exeter. In 1766, at the age of fourteen, he was sent to Eton, and on February 4th, 1769, he entered at Merton College, Oxford. As a student he was successful, and although he did not take his degree at Oxford it was owing to no lack of ability or application. He was essentially a man of action and he lived in times when the rumour of deeds of daring by land and sea were common in all men's mouths. Moreover, he had his father's career to emulate, and his reading and study had fostered that military ardour which was his pre-

dominant characteristic. It was against nature that such a lad could remain at his books while the field of deeds lay broad before his vision, and while the gathering trouble in America invited to service upon shores which his father had visited before him.

As the captain had left a considerable fortune it was easy for young Simcoe to obtain a commission as ensign in the 35th Regiment. His father had been a sailor, but he had also a strong predilection for the army and left a treatise on military tactics which was considered of value in his day. Young John Graves undoubtedly inherited this talent, chose with his heart the army before the navy, and developed naturally until he became a type of all that is excellent in his profession.

Thus he entered upon his military career in the year 1771, at the early age of nineteen. He did not at once see active service, and when his regiment was drafted for America he remained behind, and reached Boston only on June 17th, 1775, in time to hear the roar of guns on Bunker Hill and see the town streets filled with wounded and dying. This was his first experience of war, and for the next six years he knew no rest in the service of his king; he gave his body in wounds and his estate in gold to the cause, and he did not desist until his last desperate offers were rejected by his chiefs, and until with bitterness he became but a unit in a defeated army, and sheathed his sword at Yorkton upon that memorable nineteenth day of October.

At this early period of his service Simcoe had a definite ambition; that was, to be in command of a corps of light troops, as he conceived this to be "the best mode of instruction for those who aim at higher stations." He was content to learn by the most arduous practice, that he might excel in his profession. But he was not content to adopt the manners and morals which had made such troops loathed and execrated as pillagers and marauders. His equal ambition was to change this reputation, to organize and perfect a corps which would be ever on the alert, which would always be the forlorn hope of the army, but which would leave in its marches unharried fields and homesteads respected. He compassed his ambitions. He commanded the Queen's Rangers; he gave his enemy no rest and took none himself, but his progress is nowhere marked by rapine or wanton destruction.

In the earliest days of his service he gave evidence of his energy, his resourcefulness, and his persistence. He experienced for his first plan the check which was so often applied by generals in this war, the indifference which must have been galling to men who saw opportunities let slip and knowledge wasted. Through Admiral Graves, who in 1775 commanded the naval force at Boston, he proposed to General Gage to enlist the Boston negroes and lead them, under Sir James Wallace, in Rhode Island. Gage brushed the plan aside, saying that he had other employment for the Boston

negroes. So for months he lay pent with his regiment in the besieged town, and when the fourth of March saw Washington on the Dorchester Heights, he and his comrades could only use their energies to secure an orderly embarkation.

Upon March 17th, he took his last view of Boston harbour and sailed with the rest of Howe's army for Halifax. The passage was speedy, favoured by good weather. After an interval of ten or twelve weeks the army left Halifax for Sandy Hook on June 11th, and arrived on the twenty-ninth of the month. The expected reinforcements had not arrived, and as General Howe was apprised by Major-General Tryon, the governor of New York, that the Americans were preparing a stubborn resistance to any attack upon the city, he decided to proceed to Staten Island which the rebel forces relinquished when his ships anchored. The army disembarked on July 3rd. Amongst the troops was the 40th Regiment, to the grenadier company of which Simcoe had, during the sojourn at Halifax, been appointed captain. During the summer of 1776 he took part in the operations upon Long Island and in the Jerseys.

When Washington, on December 26th, pierced the British lines at Trenton, Simcoe with the 40th lay at New Brunswick, New Jersey. His regiment was left to cover that post when Colonel Mawhood marched on January 3rd with the 17th and 55th to occupy the little village of Maidenhead between

Trenton and Princeton. Mawhood's detachment had hardly begun its march when it encountered Washington's forces. In the engagement which ensued Simcoe must have commanded his company of the 40th. Mawhood's force retreated to New Brunswick and soon the whole of Cornwallis's men were pouring back from Trenton into the post, while Washington marched north to Morristown.

These disastrous occurrences, furthered as they were by want of promptitude and foresight, gave Simcoe cause for reflection. During the winter, while the army lay at New Brunswick, he went to New York to ask from Sir William Howe the command of the Queen's Rangers, which was then vacant. His boat was detained by contrary winds and he arrived a few hours too late. But he placed his request upon record, and used what influence he had for the first vacancy of the kind which might occur. He was rapidly gaining experience, and the operations about New Brunswick in the early summer, during the eighteen days when Howe endeavoured to cross the Delaware and shake off the persistent Washington, gave him additional insight into the art of moving men quickly. At the end of June the plan was abandoned and the army crossed to Staten Island.

When the army embarked for the Chesapeake Simcoe wrote General Grant urging his claims to a command should any opportunity offer. On July 5th, 1777, he sailed with his regiment for the Dela-

ware, and was detained upon shipboard by southerly winds and bad weather until the latter part of August, when the army landed at the head of the Elk River. Amongst the troops transported to the scene of the campaign against Philadelphia was the Queen's Rangers, upon the chief command of which Simcoe had set his heart. The corps had been raised in Connecticut and about New York by Colonel Rogers and had already seen service.

On September 11th the armies clashed at Brandywine River, and Simcoe took part for the first time in an engagement of serious importance. It is probable that his regiment was attached to Knyphausen's division and fought at Chadd's Ford. General Grant served under the Hessian commander that day, and it is likely with the same regiments that had been under his control at New Brunswick, amongst which was the 40th. It is certain that at this point the Queen's Rangers were engaged, for their service was such as to merit special mention in General Knyphausen's report of the action, and to be rewarded by record in the general orders and the promise that all promotions should go in the regiment. At Chadd's Ford there was stern fighting and Simcoe was wounded before the action was won. His hurt could not have been severe for he was able to resume his duties on October 16th, and when he again joined the army it was as major in command of the Queen's Rangers.

CHAPTER III

THE MILITARY JOURNAL: 1777 TO 1781

IN the "Military Journal" Simcoe has left a particular account of his service with the army from the date of his appointment to the command of the Queen's Rangers to the capitulation at Yorkton. The journal was written, from notes taken at the time, during the years immediately following the author's arrival in England after the close of the war, on parole, and was published privately in 1787. It is written in an admirable style, clear, direct, sometimes a trifle pompous, and always with an eye to some great model. Simcoe had not lost his taste for classics in his pursuit of arms and his narrative often marches with the stately tread of the ancients. There is an evident incongruity between the important, swelling style and the operations chronicled. A few hundreds of Queen's Rangers move through these pages with the swing of a whole cavalry division; a small foray becomes an incursion shaking a rebel state; a skirmish thunders like a battle; and the smallest plot or regulation has its imperial effect. This is military history through a magnifying glass. But, reading the pages in forgetfulness, one is in the midst of great deeds and serious undertakings.

No sooner had Simcoe taken the command which he had so long desired than he set to work to improve the organization and discipline of the corps. He was allowed to add a certain number of huzzars to the force, and altered the headgear and uniform of the men in order to render them less conspicuous and, therefore, more valuable for their special duties. He abolished sergeants' guards; he insisted on regularity in messing; he discontinued written orders as much as possible; he endeavoured to make each officer and man self-reliant, and ready to rush in at close quarters and fight with the bayonet. From his private purse he outfitted his men, and rewarded any one who presented recruits. By these means he produced a company of "*disciplined enthusiasts* in the *cause* of their *country*." The words and the emphasis are his own.

After the battle of Brandywine, during the winter and spring of 1778, the general duty of Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers was to "secure the country and facilitate the inhabitants bringing in their produce to market at Philadelphia." During his expeditions he took extraordinary precautions to prevent plunder by his troop and was, in general, successful. The two most important undertakings in which they were engaged were the affairs at Quintin's Bridge and at Hancock's House. They were little better than skirmishes and gain prominence by being met with in the journal where every detail is preserved. The affair at Hancock's

House is called a massacre by some American writers. A party was surprised by Simcoe and his men, over thirty were killed, amongst them Hancock and a Loyalist who was a prisoner in the house. Simcoe remarks that "events like these are the real miseries of war." These small operations were never without a certain importance, although lost in histories which deal only with the large movements of the war. They were spirited and were undertaken by Simcoe and his men with the partizan feeling which lent fire and force to their movements. Simcoe himself may well be taken as a type of the most extreme partizan. He never wavered in his opinion that the war was forced on Great Britain, and he served in the army from principle and not alone because such service was his duty. He despised his opponents as such; he considered them cattle, from Washington down to the meanest batman in the rebel army. But when he had conquered or taken his enemy prisoner he treated him with condescension and humanity. No reverse, not even the final catastrophe, could shake his blind fidelity to the king's cause.

When Sir William Howe was recalled and Sir Henry Clinton succeeded him in command, Simcoe was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. On June 18th, 1778, the British army evacuated Philadelphia. With its immense baggage train, extending to the length of twelve miles, it lumbered through the heat and the dust, and on the twenty-

sixth it had reached Monmouth court-house. The Queen's Rangers on the night of the twenty-sixth covered headquarters, and in the early hours of the twenty-seventh they changed their position and joined the left wing under Sir Henry Clinton. On the morrow the battle of Monmouth was to be fought and the left wing was to bear the brunt of the action. At seven in the morning of the twenty-seventh orders were brought to Simcoe "to take his huzzars and try to cut off a reconnoitring party of the enemy." Let us follow the movement in the words of the journalist; the passage will give the reader an idea of the manner of warfare in those days, and at the same time will serve as an example of the style in which the narrative is written:—

"As the woods were thick in front, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe had no knowledge of the ground, no guide, no other direction, and but twenty huzzars with him; he asked of Lord Cathcart, who brought him the order, whether he might not take some infantry with him, who, from the nature of the place, could advance nearly as expeditiously as his cavalry. To this his Lordship assenting, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe immediately marched with his cavalry and the grenadier company, consisting of forty rank and file. He had not proceeded far before he fell in with two rebel videttes, who galloped off; the cavalry were ordered to pursue them as their best guides; they flew on the road down a small hill, at the bottom of which was a rivulet;

on the opposite rising the ground was open, with a high fence, the left of which reached the road, and along which, a considerable way to the right, a large corps was posted. This corps immediately fired, obliquely, upon the huzzars, who, in their pursuit of the videttes, went up the road, and gained their left, when Ellison, a very spirited huzzar, leapt the fence, and others followed. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, in the meantime, brought up the grenadiers, and ordered the huzzars to retreat; the enemy gave one universal fire, and, panic-struck, fled. The Baron Stuben, who was with them, lost his hat in the confusion. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe rode along the fence, on the side opposite to which the enemy had been, posting the grenadiers there; the enemy fired several scattering shots, one of which wounded him in the arm; for some seconds, he thought it broken, and was unable to guide his horse, which, being also struck, ran away with him, luckily, to the rear; his arm soon recovered its tone, he got to the place where he had formed the huzzars, and with fourteen of them returned towards a house to which the right of the enemy's line had reached. Upon his left flank he saw two small parties of the enemy; he galloped towards them, and they fled; in this confusion, seeing two men, who probably had been the advance of these parties, rather behind the others, he sent Sergeant Prior, and an huzzar, to take them, but with strict orders not to pursue too close to the

wood. This the sergeant executed; and, after firing their loaded muskets at the large body which had been dislodged and was now rallying, the prisoners were obliged to break them, and to walk between the huzzars and the enemy. The business was now to retreat, and to carry off whomsoever might be wounded in the first attack. The enemy opposite seemed to increase, and a party, evidently headed by some general officer and his suite advancing to reconnoitre, it suggested to Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe to endeavour to pass, as on a similar design; and, for this purpose, he dispatched an huzzar to the wood in his rear, to take off his cap and make signals, as if he was receiving directions from some persons posted in it. The party kept moving, slowly, close to the fence, and toward the road; when it got to some distance from the house, which has been mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe called out audibly, as if to a party posted in it, not to fire till the main body came close, and moved on slowly parallel to the enemy, when he sent Ryan, an huzzar, forward, to see if there were any wounded men, and whether the grenadiers remained where he had posted them, adding, 'for we must carry them off or lie with them,' to which the huzzar replied, 'To be sure, your honour.' On his return, and reporting there was nobody there, Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe struck obliquely from the fence, secured by a falling of the ground from danger, over the brook to the wood, where he found

Captain Armstrong had, with great judgment, withdrawn his grenadiers; from thence he returned to camp, and sending his prisoners to the general, went himself to the baggage, his wound giving him excruciating pain, the day being like to prove very hot, and there not appearing the least probability of any action."

Simcoe and his men had engaged and driven off seven or eight hundred of the militia under General Dickinson. Upon the following day, Captain Ross led the Queen's Rangers in the battle of Monmouth, and at night they formed the rear-guard, and moved back "with that silence which was remarked in Washington's account of the action." While his men were in the very hottest of the fight Simcoe lay with the baggage, suffering and hearing the battle afar off. "During the day," the journal says, "the baggage was not seriously attacked; but some very small parties ran across it from one side of the road to the other; the rumour of them, however, added personal solicitude to Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe's public anxiety, and for security he got together the pioneers of his own and some other corps around his wagon. The uncertainty of what fate might attend his corps and the army gave him more uneasiness than he ever experienced; and, when the baggage halted, he passed an anxious night till about the middle of it when he had authentic information of the events."

Simcoe was able to assume command of the

Rangers on July 1st, but after he had escorted Sir William Erskine to Sandy Hook he was compelled through illness to remain in New York inactive until the fourteenth of the month. During the remainder of the summer his chief services were: in connection with Tarleton, an ambuscade of the Stockbridge Indians at Kingsbridge on August 31st, and an attempt to surprise a corps of light troops under Colonel Gist. The ambush was partially successful, but the surprise failed of its object.

On November 19th the corps was ordered into winter quarters at Oyster Bay, Long Island, which the men fortified. "The situation was extremely well calculated to secure the health of the soldiery; the water was excellent; there were plently of vegetables and oysters to join with their salt provisions, and bathing did not a little contribute to render them in high order for the field." They passed the winter in drilling, and were exercised particularly in rapid movements, bayonet charges, and occupying ground. Simcoe always laid great stress upon the efficiency of his men at close quarters; he held "that the British soldier, who fixes with his eye the attention of his opponents, and at the same instant pushes with his bayonet without looking down on its point, is certain of conquest."

It may be here remarked that one of the greatest pleasures to be derived from a perusal of the "Military Journal" arises from the contrast that

may be drawn between present methods of warfare and those followed at the close of the last century.

On May 18th the Rangers, "in great health and activity," left Oyster Bay and proceeded to Kingsbridge and formed the advance of the right column of the army. The summer was spent in skirmishing and attempts to engage or ambuscade the patrols of the enemy, but no encounter of any importance took place. On October 24th the corps embarked as if for service in Jamaica, but was relanded and marched to relieve a regiment at Richmond, Staten Island. While here Simcoe formed the scheme of destroying the flat-boats that the enemy had collected at Van Vactor's Bridge. He planned the expedition with his customary care, and, but for delays and certain happenings which could not have been foreseen, it would have been brilliantly successful. Eighteen new boats were burned, prisoners were taken, and forage destroyed. The intention was to reach headquarters at Kingsbridge by way of New Brunswick and to lead the enemy into an ambush prepared for them at South River Bridge.

The latter part of the plan failed completely. News of the expedition had spread like fire and the country was roused. As Simcoe's party approached New Brunswick it fell into an ambush. Simcoe "saw some men concealed behind logs and bushes and heard the words 'Now, now!' and found himself when he recovered his senses prisoner with the

enemy, his horse being killed with five bullets, and himself stunned by the violence of the fall." As he lay thus a lad was prevented from bayoneting him, and for a while his life was in imminent danger. When he regained his senses he had to face for some days the fury of the people in that locality on account of the killing of Captain Vorhees by one of the Rangers. He remained at New Brunswick until October 28th when he was removed to Bordentown on parole. Here he enjoyed some liberty until the treatment he received from the inhabitants led him to confine himself to his quarters. Early in November he was removed to the common jail at Burlington, and was in the end confined in the felons' room in retaliation for the imprisonment of two Americans, one of whom had killed a Loyalist. Simcoe was held by the authorities of New Jersey. He endeavoured to arrange an exchange, and as his confinement grew unbearable he made a desperate plan of escape and would doubtless have carried it out had not a letter to Washington gained him his release.

On the last day of December Simcoe returned to Staten Island and joined his corps at Richmond. The winter passed with but one alarm, that of an attempt of Lord Stirling's upon Staten Island, which was unproductive of any result. Simcoe, ever active in executing stratagems and forays, was deeply engaged in a plan to carry off Washington, who, according to rumour, was quartered at some

distance from his army or any portion of it. But he did not lead the enterprise; it was entrusted to Captain Beckwith, who had formed a similar scheme which failed.

The summer and autumn of 1780 did not produce any action of importance. Simcoe's health had begun to show the results of his four years of constant service, with its wounds and innumerable fatigues. On December 11th, 1780, the Rangers embarked on an expedition to Virginia under command of Benedict Arnold. It is related in Dunlop's "History of New York" that Simcoe held a "dormant commission" during this expedition and that if he had any cause to suspect Arnold he was to supersede him. The story is likely founded on rumour; the fact is nowhere mentioned by Simcoe. He says simply that he was directed by the commander-in-chief "to communicate with him and to give him such information from time to time as he thought might be for the good of the service while he was under the command of General Arnold."

During the campaign that followed, the Rangers rendered greater service than ever before. Capturing stores, and destroying posts, harassing the enemy by night and by day, they were never at rest. Their life was full of excitement and peril. It was warfare in which each man had to depend on himself and where individual bravery was so common as to pass without special notice. In a narrative of one of the forays Simcoe draws this picture: "After the party

had advanced a mile, an artilleryman, who had escaped and lay hid in the bushes, came out and informed him that Lieutenant Rynd lay not far off. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe found him dreadfully mangled and mortally wounded; he sent for an ox-cart from a neighbouring farm, on which the unfortunate young gentleman was placed; the rain continued in a violent manner, which precluded all pursuit of the enemy; it now grew more tempestuous, and ended in a perfect hurricane, accompanied by incessant lightning. This small party slowly moved back toward Herbert's Ferry. It was with difficulty that the drivers and attendants on the cart could find their way; the soldiers marched on with their bayonets fixed, linked in ranks together covering the road. The creaking of the wagon and the groans of the youth added to the horror of the night; the road was no longer to be traced when it quitted the woods, and it was a great satisfaction that a flash of lightning, which glared among the ruins of Norfolk, disclosed Herbert's house. Here a boat was procured which conveyed the unhappy youth to the hospital ship, where he died the next day; Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe barricaded the house in which he passed the night."

On June 2nd, 1781, the Queen's Rangers were dispatched against Baron Stuben, who was guarding large and valuable stores at the Point of Fork, the head of James River. The corps was supported by two hundred rank and file of the 71st Regiment.

Owing to the incessant marches and distance from their stores the footgear of the Rangers was so worn that fifty men were barefooted, but when they were called to attack the Prussian who had turned the continental troops into an efficient army, not one would fall to the rear. The pages of the "Military Journal" give the strategy of the movement with the usual particularity. The plans were well laid and carefully executed, and the baron was ill-informed as to the force moving against him. When half a hundred men would have effectually protected the stores he fled, as he thought, from the army of Cornwallis. The threadbare corps fell upon the rich prize, appropriated whatever linen and clothing was of immediate service, broached the rum casks, rolled the powder kegs into the Fluvanna, and set fire to piles of arms, tools, wagons, and miscellaneous equipment.

The most notable exploit of Simcoe and his Rangers was the engagement at Spencer's Ordinary on June 26th, 1781. This action Simcoe himself considered "the climax of a campaign of five years, the result of true discipline acquired in that space by unremitted diligence, toil and danger, an honourable victory earned by veteran intrepidity."

The action resulted from an expedition directed by Cornwallis to destroy a quantity of stores and some boats that had been brought together by the Federal troops on the Chickahominy. The end was attained but upon his return Simcoe found himself

in opposition to a force under Butler of the Pennsylvania line which had been sent by Lafayette to intercept him. A sharp action followed but Butler was beaten back and the Queen's Rangers returned to their quarters flushed with success.

The commander-in-chief specially distinguished Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe and the Rangers in the public orders at Williamsburg on June 28th, "for their spirited and judicious conduct in the action of the twenty-sixth instant when he repulsed and defeated so superior a force of the enemy."

On August 12th, 1781, the Rangers were stationed at Gloucester "to cover the foraging in front of that post," and before long they were reinforced by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton and his cavalry. With their old spirit the Rangers continued their operations, but they were reduced in numbers, and those that remained were "shattered in constitution." Simcoe himself, in his twenty-ninth year, was broken down by continuous fatigue, wounds, and exposure. The command of the post at Gloucester he was compelled at length to resign to Tarleton, but not before he had made a valiant fight to maintain it, being once, at least, carried from his bed to his horse to inspire the men with his presence and example.

But however indomitable the valiant Simcoe and his handful of brave fellows might be in their minor undertakings, a larger strategy was shaping events. On August 31st the French fleet appeared at the

mouth of the York River. Every day after that the situation grew more hopeless until on October 17th Cornwallis flew the white flag. Simcoe, anxious for the safety of the Loyalists who had fought with the Rangers under his command, requested Cornwallis to allow him to endeavour to escape with them through Maryland. But he decided that the whole of the army should share one fate, and on October 19th with their comrades, the three hundred and twenty men of the Queen's Rangers laid down their arms. Simcoe was not likely present at the surrender for he was still in a dangerous state of health, and was sent on the *Bonetta* to New York in company with the Loyalists. Thence he sailed to England on parole.

This closed his active military career. He was promoted and received honour and distinction, but he was never again to employ his undoubted genius on the field in fighting the battles of his beloved king and country.

CHAPTER IV

BEFORE UPPER CANADA: 1781 TO 1791

SIMCOE returned to England, his health broken by the hardships he had undergone and his spirit unstrung by the failures and defeats that he had done his utmost to avoid. His arrival in England did not go unnoticed. The king had observed the service of one of his youngest officers, and Lord Germain had written to Sir Henry Clinton when it was supposed that Simcoe had been killed: "I should be glad he had been in a situation to be informed that his spirited conduct had been approved of by the king." Now on December 19th, 1781, His Majesty conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, which rank he had before only held nominally. After his departure the Queen's Rangers fell under the displeasure of Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in command of the army, and the promotions were not allowed to go in the corps. But through the influence of Sir Henry Clinton, on December 25th, 1782, the rank of all officers in the regiment was made universally permanent and it was placed on the roster of the British army. At the close of the war the corps was disbanded and many of the men chose to settle in Nova Scotia, where lands were granted them.

During the years immediately following his arrival in England, Simcoe rested and endeavoured to win back his strength. The family estate, Wolford Lodge, in the county of Devon, beautifully situated, surrounded by a park-like and peaceful country, gave him the needed change from the rigorous climate to which he had been exposed, and the well-ordered life of an English gentleman soon repaired the havocs of camp-life. But while he rested he was still active in his interest in public affairs, and was not lost sight of by the government.

On December 30th, 1782, he was married to Elizabeth Posthuma, only daughter of Colonel Thomas Gwillim, of Old Court, Herefordshire. His wife was her father's only daughter and heir. The Gwillim family is very honourable, and traces its source in a direct line to the ancient kings of North and South Wales and the celebrated Herald Gwillim. Colonel Gwillim, the father of Elizabeth Posthuma, had been aide-de-camp to General Wolfe, which fact proves his worth as an officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe and his wife were distantly related through a mutual relationship with the wife of Admiral Graves, closer upon Miss Gwillim's side. She was handsome in person, of an artistic temperament, cultivated and refined, in manner gentle and retiring. Simcoe was, in contrast, lively and energetic, with social qualities which made him eminent either as guest or host. His round, amiable face shows to less advantage in

his portraits than when in life it was lit by his small but vivacious eyes and his friendly, engaging smile. The young couple spent the first years of their wedded life between Wolford Lodge and London, where Simcoe began to be called more frequently in consultation by the military authorities upon special subjects upon which his experience made his opinion of value. It was seen that he inherited his father's clearsightedness and his lucidity of statement.

On January 14th, 1783, his exchange was signed at Passy by Benjamin Franklin, and Simcoe was released from his parole. He was again free to engage in active service but no occasion offered. The administration and improvement of his estate took up the greater part of his time. In general study and in the composition of the "Military Journal" he found the intellectual employment which recreated his mind. A few verses of his have been preserved which discover his vein of natural sentiment if not any remarkable poetic gifts. There is a long piece in four-line stanzas entitled "Clementina," which proves that he knew by heart the "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard." In rhymed couplets he has celebrated an encounter in the Revolutionary War in which the disastrous effect of a bullet upon the Highland bagpipes, and, therefore, upon the spirit of the corps, is described. His most successful essay in verse may here be quoted:—

"FRAGMENT" [1]

I

"Fancy ! to thee belongs the coming day !
Adorn it with thy Trophies ! with such flow'rs
As late o'er Wolfe were spread, while his cold clay
Britannia, weeping, in you fane embow'rs.
Brave youth ! for thee pure Glory framed the wreath,
Not of those tints which fade before the noon,
But of that sober cast, that hue of Death,
True Amaranth, the dying Patriot's boon.
Blest be thy memory and rest in peace !
O may my soul be firm as thine, to meet
Dangers, which skill may lay and which shall cease,
Broke like the wave that bathes the proud rock's feet.
Eliza ! thou my triumphs still shall share ;
Fancy and Hope thy sufferings shall bear,
And crown with twofold joy each fond suspended care.

II

" Hope ! to the sunbeam stretch thy rosebud wreath,
And raise thy mild and all encheering eye,
Piercing beyond the dark domain of Death
To the bright confines of futurity.
Point thou the course of Glory ! Valour rears
For her his veteran spear ; her, Vengeance calls ;
Bid her resume the deeds of former years,
And plant Britannia's colours on those walls !
Then to this land returning Age shall pay.
Hope ! ample tribute to thy guardian power,
And with true science graceful shall delay
Youth's list'ning ear from Pleasure's wanton bower ;
Illume to acts of worth the manly train,
And bid, from thine and Fancy's sacred strain,
New Wolfes in arms arise, and Essex live again !

III

" Hope ! who with smiling and commanding air
Hast thrown thine eaglet to the sky,

[1] The author is indebted for these verses to Colonel S. H. P. Graves, of the Indian Army.

And bid him soar, with steadfast eye,
To claim Jove's thunder, and to bear
His high behests with forward wing;
And thou, bright Fancy! powerful to fling
Thy radiant eyebeams thro' the depths of space,
And there, with keenest energy, to trace
Whatever cold oblivion, with her veil,
Dark mental night, malignant, would conceal,
Receive me, hallowed pair! and bid my rhyme
Disclose the secrets of revolving time.

IV

"Essex! (ye Muses bless his name!) thy flight
Nor shall mischance nor envious clouds obscure!
Thou the bold Eaglet, whose superior height,
While Cadiz towers, forever shall endure.
O, if again Hope prompts the daring song,
And Fancy stamps it with the mark of truth,
O, if again Britannia's coasts should throng
With such heroic and determined youth,
Be mine to raise her standards on that height,
Where thou, great Chief! thy envied trophies bore!
Be mine to snatch from abject Spain the state,
Which, in her mid-day pride, thy valour tore!
And oh! to crown my triumph, tho' no Queen,
Cold politician, frown on my return,
Sweetly adorning the domestic scene,
Shall my Eliza with true passion burn,
Or smile, amid her grief, at Fame, who hovers o'er my urn!"

It was not possible that a man so gifted for public life, with such ardour for the improvement of domestic and colonial government, could long remain out of politics. It is probable that the party managers had marked him for nomination as a man likely to strengthen their hands in the House; and it is certain that if Simcoe had resolved upon a political career his native persistence would urge his

claim to recognition. He was elected member for St. Maw's, Cornwall, as colleague with Sir William Young, Bart., and took his seat in the parliament which assembled on November 25th, 1790. His parliamentary career was short, and its most active period was during the passage of the Constitutional Act, in the spring of 1791. The only speech of Simcoe's which was considered worthy of preservation in the parliamentary history of England was delivered on December 23rd, 1790, in committee to consider the state in which the impeachment of Warren Hastings was left at the dissolution of the last parliament. It escaped the general oblivion into which so much of the parliamentary discussion of that period has happily descended because it was, in effect, an attack upon Burke, and gave him an opportunity for personal defence and explanation.

Simcoe's political career ended with the passage of the Canada Act, and it is probable that he was at once appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. Since the year 1789 his name had been connected with this office. On December 3rd of that year he writes to his friend Nepean: "Should Canada act upon the wise, enlarged, and just plan of annihilating at once every vestige of military government in her native colonies and undermining by degrees the miserable feudal system of old Canada . . . . too firmly established by a sacred capitulation to be openly got rid of, I should be

happy to consecrate myself to the service of Great Britain in that country in preference to any situation of whatever emolument or dignity." Thus he offered himself for the position, and very soon his name became connected with it, if not in a public way, yet in the way in which confidential servants and friends of government trade secrets over their wine, for Haldimand makes an entry in his diary under July 12th, 1790, that his host Davison "gave me further confidences, by telling me that Colonel Simpko was appointed to the new government."

Early in February of 1791 he took up the responsibilities, if not the actual duties of his office. In his very first recommendation to the government, he points out the necessity for a military force which would operate in opening colonization roads, and to the last he viewed the province from a military standpoint. With his customary energy he dwells during this correspondence with Grenville and Dundas upon every point which he considers of importance to the well-being and improvement of the colony. His earliest demands not being met promptly, he states that unless his views are approved of he will have to decline the office. Dundas writes a mollifying letter and states that he hopes to have the question soon settled.

On August 3rd he writes to Grenville that he presumes that in Upper Canada he shall be subject only to the military authority of Dorchester. Thus

early may be observed the desire to consider himself free from authority, and to be the absolute master in his own domain. His salary was to be £2,000 a year, and in this letter he states that he looks "rather to future promotion than to present emoluments," and offers to give up £500 a year if a bishop "is withheld on account of the expense."

On August 12th, as he expects that the detail of the government for Upper Canada will be fixed the next day, he writes Dundas giving a summary of the arrangements that he would like to see carried out. He places them in the following order :— (1) The Episcopal establishment; (2) military establishments; (3) a company of artificers; (4, 5) independent companies; (6) deputy quartermaster-general; (7) legal appointments; (8) executive council; (9) the appointment of Mr. W. Jarvis to be secretary and clerk of the council; (10) a printer who might also be postmaster; (11) Mr. Russell to be collector of customs, auditor, and receiver-general; (12) surveyor-general; (13) provision for settlers; (14) a constant supply of government stores; (15) the supply of tools and materials to be disposed of to settlers at cost price; (16) a supply of copper coinage; (17) books for the foundation of a public library. Amongst the objects that "may be worth the attention of the new settlers in Upper Canada" he noted :—(1) Growing hemp and flax; (2) supplying the Indian markets with rum from parsnips; (3) discovering the best situations for iron forges;

(4) making salt at the salt springs in the high countries.

During all these negotiations, harassed by severe indisposition, he was busy preparing his own establishment, for his wife and family were to accompany him. He induced Captain Stevenson to go with him to Quebec to act as protector to his family in case of accident to himself. His official staff was, on September 30th, estimated as follows:

Major of brigade, Captain Edward Baker Littlehales, £172 17s. 6d.; commissary of stores and provisions, Captain John McGill, £172 17s. 6d.; chaplain, Rev. Edward Drewe, £115 5s. 0d.; surgeon, John McAulay, £172 17s. 6d.; fort major, Eustache Robert Eyre, £86 8s. 9d.; barrack-master, Justic Wright, £69 3s. 0d., making a total of £789 9s. 3d.

On September 21st he set sail from Weymouth in the *Triton*. The ocean passage was uneventful, but very stormy weather was encountered in the Gulf. Early on the morning of November 11th he arrived in the harbour of Quebec. He was the bearer of the several commissions, Sir Alured Clarke's as lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, and Sir John Johnson's as superintendent-general of Indian affairs. He also delivered the king's letter to Prince Edward, the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, who was in Quebec in command of the 7th Fusiliers. Out of consideration for the prince, whose rank was only that of colonel, Simcoe, al-

ways a courtier and particular to a degree in all matters of military etiquette, had refused to take rank over him as brigadier.

From the date of his arrival until early in June, Simcoe was in the anomalous position of being in authority in name only. Virtually he was lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada and commander of His Majesty's forces in the province, but in reality he could not remit a fine or issue a regimental order. He had no military authority until the arrival of the troops he was to command, and he could assume no civil power until a majority of the legislative council was present to administer the oaths. Four members of this body had been appointed in England, but only one was at that time in Canada, Alexander Grant. Until the proclamation dividing the province was issued, Sir Alured Clarke was acting governor. The moment that instrument was issued he became lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, and could have no civil control in the sister province. Simcoe laid these facts before the government and recommended the appointment of additional councillors resident in Canada. The proclamation was issued on November 18th, 1791, and the division of the province was decreed to take place upon December 26th following. The Quebec *Gazette* of December 1st, 1791, contained the proclamation and the full text of the Act.

It was necessary that the administration of justice should continue without intermission. Sir Alured

Clarke, properly sworn as lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, continued by proclamation the powers of the judiciary, but Simcoe had not like power. If Judge Powell had pressed the desirability of a similar proclamation for Upper Canada the courts might have been temporarily suspended, but he did not do so and the administration of justice proceeded while as yet there was no civil authority in the province.

The term of uncertainty was ended early in June by the arrival of two legislative councillors, Osgoode and Russell, who with Grant formed a quorum. The governor's military authority had been established a few days earlier by the arrival at Quebec of the *Betsy and John* on May 28th, with the first division of the Queen's Rangers ; the second division arrived on June 11th.

Simcoe had chafed at the long delay. He was inactive when before him lay a thousand plans to be carried out. He made what uses he could of the primitive arrangements for the interchange of letters. The winter, the spring, and a few weeks of the summer passed without any great accomplishment. The slowness of sailing transports and canoes gave time only for the exchange of a few dispatches. As soon as he was released from his trying position, he left Quebec for the seat of his government. His journey was made in *bateaux* and canoes, under sail where the broad waters and favourable winds would admit, rowed by resolute

arms where the currents were swift, and tracked up the rapids where no other method could make head against the raging water. He reached Montreal on June 17th, remained there until the twenty-second, and arrived at Kingston on July 1st. Kingston he left on July 24th, and on the twenty-sixth of that month he saw for the first time the bluff at the mouth of Niagara River, the walls of Fort Niagara and the group of buildings on the north bank which were to be for many months the scene of his activities.

CHAPTER V

"PIONEERS, O PIONEERS!"

IN 1782 Upper Canada was a wilderness of forest. Here and there had the axe notched the shore with clearances for forts or blockhouses. At Cataraqui stood the barracks on the site of old Fort Frontenac; Fort Niagara guarded the entrance of the river; Fort Erie protected its blockhouses with palisades; Detroit remained the most important post to the westward. Around these military posts there had been just sufficient cultivation to supply the officers' mess with vegetables, and the table of the privates with the necessary relief from a course of salt pork. But the country had never been thought of as a field for colonization until the British government was compelled to turn its attention to the task of providing homes for the Loyalists who had fled to England from New York with Carleton, or who were trooping into Quebec from the south by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. When Carleton evacuated New York he took upwards of forty thousand souls, his army and refugee Loyalists, to England. Despite the irritation of congress at delay and the constant pressure of his own government, the general refused to leave the city until every Loyalist

who wished to accompany him had been provided for. The experience of those who were unfortunate enough to be left behind proved that his estimate of the importance of removing the men who had fought, and the women and children who had suffered, for the loyal cause was not extravagant. Disaster and personal loss had often visited those of the conquering party, and the events were too near, their memory was burned too deeply, to admit of clear sight, or of mercy after victory. To have left the Loyalists in New York, the great stronghold of the cause, would have been to abandon them to the lawlessness of partizan spirit. Many were so abandoned, of necessity, throughout the country, and upon their sufferings in mind, body and estate, was the province of Upper Canada founded.

The Treaty of Paris attempted to provide for the protection of the Royalists and their property. The fourth, fifth, and sixth clauses of the treaty were as follows:—

"IV—It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

"V—It is agreed, that the congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also the

estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of His Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go into any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all Acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or Acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with the spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. And that congress should also earnestly recommend to the several states that the estates, rights, and properties of such last-mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any person who may be now in possession of the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights or properties, since the confiscation.

"And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

"VI—That there shall be no future confiscation

made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued."

The clauses might have been regarded as sufficiently clear in statement and just in intention to merit execution in their integrity by an honourable nation. But the United States was not yet a nation; there was no guiding national sentiment; even the separate states were ruled by faction, local interests and prejudices. The functions of congress were hardly comprehended by the mass of the population, and the will of the executive was powerless to cool this turbulent element just poured from the furnace of successful rebellion. There may have been in the minds of some of the leaders of congress the idea that the articles just quoted were written down in good faith and should be acted upon, and more surely there must have been in the minds of many fair and just men throughout the States the sentiment that confiscation and persecution were abominable and unrighteous. But these feelings could not prevail; they were overwhelmed, lost, strangled in the flood of bitter feeling which rolled against the

men who, like their opponents and persecutors, had but done what they conceived their duty.

In many of the states the action in direct contravention of the treaty was overt, and took the form of legislation designed to prevent the operation of the pacific clauses, to countenance the alienation of property, and to shackle the already overweighted Loyalist with new disabilities and penalties. Where the statute-book remained unsullied by these violent enactments, there was yet the body of private hate and greed and selfishness to be reckoned with. In society and communities there was ever present that immense pressure of disapproval, that frown combined of hatred and suspicion under which no man could long live and breathe freely. No property was ever recovered except by stealth, and no debt was anywhere collected save through the rare personal honour of the debtor.

While these things continued, Great Britain kept her grasp on Oswego, Detroit, Niagara and Michilimackinac, the posts which dominated the western country. Thus her treaty obligations were unfulfilled, and, while acting with firmness towards the power that had shown willingness to make fair contracts but inability to carry them out, she gave her protection and assistance to her faithful people. Claims for losses were paid to the enormous amount of $18,912,294, and those who had taken refuge in the province of Quebec were provided with food and shelter.

The first refugees arrived before the war had ceased, the men were frequently drafted into the provincial regiments, the women and children were maintained at Machiche, St. Johns, Chambly, Sorel and other points at which they arrived naturally upon the termination of their journey. This influx continued up to 1790, and consisted of those who had suffered the more actively for the royal cause. There was at Niagara also a considerable number of refugees who sought the protection of the garrison and who began early settlement of the shores of Lake Ontario. After the year 1790 began the immigration of those who were loyal at heart and welcomed the opportunity of settlement again under the British flag, free from the contempt of their republican neighbours and the political servitude in which they lived. Simcoe, by his proclamation of free grants of land, created what would, in these days, be called a "boom," and the morals and principles of some of the settlers looked strangely like those of the ordinary land-grabber and speculator. But every one was a Royalist to his ardent mind.

A quotation from the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, a shrewd but not altogether unprejudiced observer, may be made to show the spirit with which Simcoe received emigrants in his day. "We met in this excursion an American family who, with some oxen, cows, and sheep, were emigrating to Canada. 'We come,' said they, 'to the gover-

nor,' whom they did not know, 'to see whether he will give us land.' 'Aye, aye,' the governor replied, 'you are tired of the federal government; you like not any longer to have so many kings; you wish again for your old father' (it is thus the governor calls the British monarch when he speaks with Americans); 'you are perfectly right; come along, we love such good Royalists as you are, we will give you land.'" This was in 1795, and there is truth in the insinuation that all emigrants were not Loyalists. Writing only four years after the duke, Mr. Richard Cartwright states pointedly that "it has so happened that a great portion of the population of that part of the province which extends from the head of the Bay of Kenty upwards is composed of persons who have evidently no claim to the appellation of Loyalists."

At one extreme we have the governor who thought that every American who touched the soil of Upper Canada was cleansed from his republicanism, and at the other the legislative councillor who could only see loyalty in those of the first immigration. A mean of truth might be established between them by deciding that these later arrivals were not partizans either of one side or the other, and that they chose, not altogether from selfish motives, to throw in their lot with the king. Even Mr. Cartwright could not gainsay that they were good settlers and possessed "resources in themselves which other people are usually

strangers to." While their loyalty was, may be, lukewarm, the oath of allegiance presented no terrors; they took it calmly and their descendants are now so staunchly loyal that they have forgotten that their British sentiment, perhaps, began with kissing a magistrate's Bible. The Loyalists who, after Simcoe's arrival, came from England, had not the pioneer virtues possessed by the New World settlers. They are described by Cartwright as "idle and profligate," and notwithstanding their aid from government, their rations, their implements, their household utensils, they failed to take root in the country, and disappeared or became paupers and vagrants.

In the summer of 1782 there were sixteen families, comprising ninety-three persons, settled at Niagara. They had two hundred and thirty-six acres under cultivation, and had harvested eleven hundred and seventy-eight bushels of grain and six hundred and thirty of potatoes. The erection of a saw and grist-mill upon the farm of Peter Secord, one of these pioneers, was contemplated. These sixteen families were supporting themselves with the assistance of rations granted by the government, and they are the first settlers of Upper Canada.

The first refugee Loyalists arrived in the eastern district in the summer of 1784 and took up land upon the St. Lawrence below Cataraqui, at that place, and upon the shores of the Bay of

Quinté.[1] They were all poorly equipped to gain their subsistence from the forest-covered domain which had been granted them. Soldiers and Loyalists alike had but the clothing upon their backs. When a family had a few chairs or a table, saved somehow from the ruin of their homesteads, guarded and transported with care and labour out of all proportion to the value of the articles, they were affluent amid the general destitution. The pioneer in our day can suffer no such isolation, and cannot endure like hardships. All civilization rushes to help him. He has only to break through the fringe of forest that surrounds him and he finds a storehouse of all the world's goods necessary for him at his command. By his fire he may read of the last month's revolutions, or the triumphs of peace in the uttermost parts of the earth. Whatever he touches in his cabin of rough logs may remind him of his comradeship with all the other producers of the globe, and every kernel of grain that he grows and

[1] According to a return made in 1784, signed by Sir John Johnson, these settlers consisted of the following bands: The 1st Battalion King's Royal Regiment, New York, settled on townships 1 to 5, 1,462; part of Jessup's corps on 6, 7, and part of 8, 495; the 2nd Battalion King's Royal Regiment, New York, on 3 and 4, Cataraqui, 310; Captain Grant's party on 1, Cataraqui, 187; part of Jessup's corps on 2, Cataraqui, 434; Major Rogers' corps on 3, Cataraqui, 299; Major Van Alstine's party of Loyalists on 4, Cataraqui, 258; different detachments of disbanded regulars on 5, Cataraqui, 259; detachment of Germans with Baron Reitzenstein on 5, Cataraqui, 44; Rangers of the Six Nation Department and Loyalists settled with the Mohawk Indians at the Bay of Quinté, 28. Total: 1,568 men, 626 women, 1,492 children, 90 servants=3,776.

every spare-rib that he fattens goes to swell the food-wealth of the world. For the pioneers of 1784 it was strife for bare subsistence; they were as isolated as castaways on a desert island who had saved part of the ship's stores and tools.

The government gave them a little flour and pork and a few hoes and axes, and with these they were to dispossess those ancient tenants who had for ages held undisputed possession.[1] They drew lots for their lands. The lucky ones obtained the farms near the posts or where some advantage of water, springs, groves, or soil made the situation desirable. When they were located began the great work of providing shelter. While the trees were felled and the rude hut was taking shape, the family slept under the stars upon the ground, huddled together for warmth or protection from the dew and rain. Blankets they had none; their clothes were tattered, and as the chill nights of September came upon them, thus exposed, they suffered from cold. With dull axes, which they could not sharpen, they made their clearances, and when they were made they had no seed, or but a handful, to

[1] The later arrivals received the following tools and implements, but the earliest settlers were aided only by the issue of the most necessary articles, made for them usually by the artificers of the regiments at Quebec and elsewhere. To every six families, one cross-cut saw; to every family, one hand saw, one hammer, two gimblets, ninety pounds of nails assorted, one set of door-hinges, one axe, one mattock, one spade, one scythe, one sickle, one set plough-irons, one set harrow-irons, one broad-axe, two augers, two chisels, one gouge, one drawing knife, one camp kettle.

The Pioneer

From the painting by C. W. Jefferys

sow between the stumps upon the rich loam which was ready to yield them an hundred-fold. Their single implement was the hoe with which they chopped roots, turned the soil, covered the little seed. With toil in the clear air they sharpened hunger that could not be assuaged from the small supply of food which they were compelled to hoard against the length of the winter. Their staples were flour and pork, but to these could be added fish, that were in such plenty that a hooked stick was all that was required to take them from the streams, and wild fowl that could be captured with the most primitive snare.

They faced all the harshness of life in the wilderness except the hostility of the Indians. These first Upper Canadian settlers never turned their cabins into blockhouses, never primed their guns and stood alert at the loopholes "while shrill sprang through the dreaming hamlet on the hill, the war cry of the triumphant Iroquois." The savages who surrounded them were refugees like themselves, allies who had fought with the disbanded regiments and now, side by side, had turned them to the peaceful employments which were alike strange and untoward to the wielders of the tomahawk and the bearers of the rifle. Only upon occasion, maddened with rum for which they had bartered their treaty presents, did they drive off and kill the precious cattle and frighten the women and children when the men were at the post for

rations. The normal attitude of the Indian to the settler was one of friendliness. In his possession he held the wisdom produced by centuries of conflict with the conditions that faced the pioneer. And when the rewards that he might look for were small he taught him to take fish without hooks or bait, to prepare skins without the tanner's vat, to make delicious sugar from the sap of the maple, to snare rabbits, to build canoes. He brought to the cabin door venison and dishes of birch-bark, and pointed out nuts and roots that were edible and nutritious.

The government, observant of this friendliness that made the work of colonization so much easier, rewarded the Indians in many ways by gifts and privileges. The Mississaugas, who held the lands about Kingston and the lower end of the lake, received, on October 19th, 1787, a special grant of £2,000, York currency, in goods, as a reward for giving aid in their country to the Loyalists.

The winter of 1785 found these earliest settlers for the most part prepared to withstand its rigours. Their little log huts were reared in the middle of the clearings supported by immense chimneys of rough stones, which opened in the dwarf interiors fireplaces nearly as large as one side of the enclosure. The chinks in the logs were stuffed with moss and clay, and the stones were cemented by nothing stronger than the soil from which they had been gathered. Night and day they kept fires roaring on

the hearths. The precincts gradually widened in the snow as trees fell under the axe, and the interior of the cabins began to take on an air of rude comfort as, one by one, rough articles of furniture were knocked together by the light of the fire. The enforced stinting of the coarse, wholesome food, the splendid purity of the air, the sweeping ventilation of the little living-room kept clear by the sweet flame of maple and birch, the invigorating labour with axes amongst the resinous pine and the firm-trunked hard woods gave health and strong sleep, and happy hearts followed.

In the spring when the fall wheat began to show in a shimmer of green rising about the stumps equally over all inequalities of the ground, springing up gladly, renewing itself with a bright joy in the virgin earth, the labourers saw the first of hundreds of springtimes that were to gladden Ontario. These first blades of wheat, making patches of green where the axes had cleft the forest for sunshine and rain, were flags of hope unfurled for the women and children. It ripened, this virgin grain, breast high, strong-headed, crammed with the force of unwearied soil and sweeping sunshine. When hands gathered it, and threshed it, and winnowed it, it was crushed in the hollow scooped in a hardwood stump—a rude mortar. And if the swords of the old soldiers had not actually become plowshares or their spears pruning-hooks, at least their cannon balls were frequently

made into pestles and, suspended by cords from the end of a pole which was balanced like a well-sweep, pounded grain peacefully into coarse and wholesome flour.

And while the grain waxed plump and ripened, the women, with resourceful energy, sought to improve the conditions of life. In most cases they had saved the seed which produced the first harvest, now they endeavoured to clothe their families, learned the Indian tanning, spun thread from the fibres of the basswood bark, and made clothing of deerskin, trousers and smocks and petticoats, that would withstand for years the rough usage of a frontier life. Stockings were unknown; at first the children frequently spent the whole of the winter months indoors for lack of the necessary foot-covering. When it became possible to obtain leather every man was shoe-maker to his own family, and produced amorphous but comfortable boots. Looking forward to the raising of wool, flax, and hemp, hand-looms were fashioned in the winter and spinning-wheels, and when the materials were at hand the women learned to spin and weave, and linsey-woolsey took the place of buckskin. When the proper materials were not at hand blankets were made from anything that could be found, for instance, "hair picked out of the tanner's vat and a hemp-like weed growing in the yard." A common knife and a little invention filled the housewife's shelves with many a small article that

Candle Moulds and German Lamp

Bake Kettles

Coffee Mill and Apple Parer

Pewter Tableware

Household Utensils of the Simcoe Period

made keeping the house easier—uncouth basswood trenchers, spoons, and two-pronged forks whittled from hard maple, and bowls done out of elm knots. The steady progress of the colony received but one serious check. The "hungry year" came with its dearth and its privation.

After three years of toil some slight degree of comfort had been reached, but in the summer of 1787 disaster fell upon them. The harvest was a failure. During the winter that followed there was dire suffering. They lived upon whatever they could find in the woods. They killed and ate their few cattle, their dogs, their horses. The government could not cope with such wide and far-reaching destitution, and the people were thrown upon their own resources. The story of the circulation of the beef bones among neighbouring families to give flavour to the thin bran soup is familiar. They lived on nuts and roots, on anything from which nourishment could be extracted. When the early summer brought up the grain they boiled the green, half-filled ears and stalks, and as the year drew on distress gradually vanished and comfort and improvement marched on.

Transport and communication were difficult, the lakes and rivers were the natural carriage-ways; and bush-trails, a foot or two wide, blazed at every turn led from one clearance to another. But despite these obstacles the people were sociable and helpful. Their interests were alike, their sufferings had been

similar, and common difficulties drew them together. They passed on the knowledge of small, but to them important, discoveries in domestic processes and economies. The invention of one became common property. No man endeavoured to conceal his discovery of the best way to extract stumps or mount a potash-kettle, to build a bake oven, or to shape felloes. Every woman gave away her improvements in bread-making, in weaving, and in dyeing. They were like members of one family, and for good-fellowship and economy in labour they joined forces, and in "bees" the men raised barn-timbers and rooftrees, the women gathered around the quilting-frames and the spinning-wheels.

After labour there was mirth. The young men fought and wrestled and showed their prowess in many a forgotten game. The women made matches and handed on the news. There was dancing, good eating, and deep drinking. In the winter there were surprise parties and dances when the company came early and stayed for a day or two. But the weddings were the chief occasions for jollity and good fellowship. Before the year 1784 the ceremony was performed by the officer-in-command at the nearest post, or the adjutant of the regiment; afterwards, until the passage of the Marriage Act, by the justice of the peace for the district. The bride and groom with their attendants, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, followed the trail through

The Logging

From the painting by G. A. Reid
In possession of Lt.-Col. G. A. Sweny, Toronto

the woods. If the journey were long they rested overnight at the house of some neighbour. They made as brave a show as possible, the bride decked out in calico, calamink, or linsey-woolsey, the bridegroom in his homespun. Or may be each in inherited garments of a more prosperous age, the bride in a white satin that had taken an ivory shade in its wanderings, the bridegroom in a broadcloth coat with brass buttons, knee breeches, and beaver hat. There was a fiddler always to be found, and no wedding was complete and perfect without a dance. Sometimes odd expedients were necessary to supply the ring, and there is record of one faithful pair that were married with the steel ring attached to an old pair of skates.

The chief messengers from the outside world were the itinerant preachers and the Yankee pedlars. They were the newsmongers who brought into the wilds word of the latest happenings, six months old: how Robespierre had cut off his king's head, how Black Dick had beaten the French, how Jay had made a treaty with King George, how the king's son was on the way to Niagara, how they were to have as a governor of their own, the fighting colonel of the Queen's Rangers, how a real French duke was at Kingston in the officers' quarters, how there was to be another war with the States. All the stray news from Albany or Quebec was talked over while the pedlar opened his pack of prints and gee-gaws, or before the preacher turned from these

worldly subjects to the one nearest his heart, the welfare of the eternal soul.

They were not greatly troubled with money; they made their own in effect, by trade and barter, or, in fact, by writing on small slips of paper that passed everywhere at their face value until that became indecipherable from soil or friction, when the last holders made fresh copies, and on they went with their message of trust and confidence. The earliest settlers had no means of producing wealth. Their markets were their own simple tables, their exports reached the next concession, or the nearest military post. Their first and chief source of ready money was the sale of potash, a crude product from hardwood ashes. In fact, not many years have passed since the disappearance of the V-shaped ash vat and the cumbrous potash kettle. Their next source of revenue was the provisioning of the troops, and in 1794 agriculture had so developed that the commissariat was in that year partly supplied from the provincial harvest. Then timber became the staple, and the whole of the exports—potash, grain, and pork—were freighted to Montreal on rafts. Cattle at first were scarce and hard to provide for. Some of the earliest settlers had cows and oxen at places in the States, that had to be driven hundreds of miles through the woods over paths slashed out for their passage. In the first settlement at Oswegatchie (Prescott) for a population of five hundred and ninety-seven there

were only six horses, eight oxen and eighteen cows. During the "hungry year" the first cattle were nearly all killed for food, but before long every farmer had his oxen and cows that ranged the woods as nimble as deer and picked up their living in the same fashion.

Saw and grist-mills were soon established. First at Niagara, then at Napanee, at Kingston, at York on the Humber, and gradually they were added to as the harvests became greater and the demand for flour and lumber more extensive. Taking the grist to mill was always the most important event of the year. By tedious and dangerous voyages along the lake shore in open boats or scows, the settler took his bags of grain that were precious as gold to him, and returned with his flour, less the toll exacted for grinding, fixed by law at one-twelfth. While he was away the women kept the houses, lying awake at night with the children sleeping around them, shivering at the howling of the wolves. Often were they alarmed by rumours of disaster and loss to the one who had gone forth "bearing his sheaves with him," but who doubtless "came again with rejoicing."

As time went by there grew up those distinctions and degrees which must inevitably develop in society that begins to be settled and secure. Governor Simcoe to the full extent of his power aided these divergences. He thought nothing would contribute so greatly to the solid, four-square loyalty of the

province as an aristocracy. This aristocracy he hoped to build out of the materials at his hand: half-pay officers, many of whom bore names that were honoured at home and whose traditions were those of good families and settled ways of life, the few leading merchants and landed proprietors who were the financiers and bankers of the colony. Upon these men fell the honours that Simcoe could recommend or bestow; they were the legislative councillors, the lieutenants of counties, the magistrates. They were the flower of the loyalty of the province, and from them he would have formed an aristocracy with hereditary titles, estates, coats-of-arms, permanent seats in the legislative council. From this eminence the people descended in degree through the professional classes, the farmers, the shopkeepers, to the substratum of the land-grabber and speculator, whose loyalty was tainted and whose motives and movements were imagined and observed with suspicion.

Upon even the humblest individual of the early immigration Simcoe desired to place some distinction that might make his stand for a united empire known to posterity.

At Lord Dorchester's instance a minute had been passed by the executive council of the province of Quebec on November 9th, 1789, directing the Land Boards of the different districts to register the names of those who had joined the royal standard in America before the Treaty of Separation of 1783.

But the Land Boards took but little interest in the matter, and Simcoe found the regulation a dead letter. He revived it by his proclamation dated at York on April 6th, 1796. This instrument directed the magistrates to ascertain under oath and register the names of such persons as were entitled to special distinction and land grants by reason of their cleaving to the king's cause in a troublous time. The next ensuing Michaelmas quarter sessions was the time set for the registration, and from this date began the designation of United Empire Loyalist.

Manners and customs were British of the same date, or colonial transplanted from the old provinces of the Crown. There can be no doubt that hard drinking was the great vice of the time, and it penetrated to Upper Canada and flourished there. To the garrisons of the posts rum was the only diversion, and the men drowned the feeling of intolerable *ennui* as often as they could in that fiery and potent liquor. When they were being transported from one point to another, even under the eyes of their officers they became intoxicated and remained so as long as the supply of liquor lasted. De la Rochefoucauld notes that, when Captain Parr and his detachment of the 60th Regiment were proceeding from Kingston to Montreal, "the soldiers were without exception as much intoxicated as I ever saw any in the French service. On the day of their departure they were scarcely able to row, which rendered our tour extremely tedious." The

comparison to the soldiers of his own country removes any suspicion of exaggeration. Again writing of his trip to Oswego from Kingston, he says: "The four soldiers, who composed our crew, were intoxicated to such a degree that the first day we scarcely made fifteen miles, though we sailed twelve of them."

The national vice was probably treated with lenity as an evil preferable to desertion. But the latter military iniquity was of the most common occurrence. It was an easy matter at Niagara, Detroit, or Oswego to leave the immense monotony, the hideous round of a life that was a sort of servitude without the saving circumstance of hard labour, and find freedom in the American states. Rewards were freely offered for the apprehension of deserters; the government offered eight dollars and the officers added another eight for their restoration to barracks. The Indians tracked them, hunted them down and captured them, when and how they could. The extreme penalty for desertion was death. This was the usual preliminary sentence, afterwards remitted to transportation for life at hard labour. Sometimes the first sentence was one thousand lashes that would be remitted to transportation. Only in one instance was the utmost rigour of the finding of a court-martial carried out "from the absolute necessity of a public example." It happened a few weeks more than a year after Simcoe's arrival at Niagara. Charles

Grisler, a private of the 5th Regiment had deserted while acting as night sentry over a few *bateaux* at Fort Erie. He was captured, court-martialed and shot kneeling on his coffin at Fort Niagara on October 29th, 1793.

An occasional sham fight, an alarm of war, bringing with it increased vigilance and perhaps a change of posts, labour upon some public road, vessel or fortification, these were the only reliefs to the hard barrack life with its interminable round of garrison duty under officers who for the most part paid no greater attention to their needs than if they were automata. They were rarely allowed to labour for settlers or for the townspeople of Niagara or Kingston, but sometimes their officers employed them at ninepence a day to clear land, make gardens, or improve their estates. It was a point of honour to carry out the code of dress and discipline as if the corps were at Portsmouth or London. We can imagine the detachment of the 24th Regiment under Major Campbell, that Simcoe stationed behind the palisade of Fort Miami, standing to arms in that utter wilderness in their scarlet coats with powdered hair and mitre-like helmets, every strap pipe-clayed, every button polished, every buckle pulled tight. De la Rochefoucauld draws a lively picture of a group of soldiers of the 5th Regiment dressing on board the *Onondaga* before their arrival at Kingston. He saw the soldiers "plastering their hair or, if they had none, their heads, with a

thick white mortar, which they laid on with a brush, and afterwards raked, like a garden-bed, with an iron comb; and then fastening on their heads a piece of wood, as large as the palm of the hand and shaped like the bottom of an artichoke, to make a *cadogan*, which they filled with the same white mortar, and *raked* in the same manner, as the rest of their head-dress." The duke moralizes, not upon the vanity of the soldiers, but upon the "forwardness of those who are ever ready to ridicule all manners and habits which are not their own."

A day or two before he had seen a crowd of Indians painted in glaring colours which they constantly freshened as they became dimmed with sweat. They are the one element of the population that I have not dwelt upon. The most important and numerous, the confederated tribes of the Six Nations, were settled on the Grand River upon lands set apart for them by Haldimand. In 1784, when other parts of the province were without schools or churches, they were supplied with both. Their church was adorned with crimson pulpit furniture and a service of solid silver, the gift of Queen Anne. These marks of civilization, the church and the school, had been given the tribe by the same government that allowed them to be debauched by rum. The savage nature was hardly hidden under the first, thinnest film of European customs. Scalps were hung up in their log huts, and arms

that had brained children upon their parents' door-stones were yet nervous with power.

Simcoe felt that their loyalty was but skin-deep, that it was governed by self-interest, and that at any time unless cajoled and blinded their cunning could be turned against their former allies. Brant he distrusted, his power he endeavoured to dissolve. His feeling upon the Indian situation was too intense, but in the savage nature he saw a real menace to the peace and prosperity of the colony. It should be remembered that at the time he governed there was a league between the Indians of the West and of Canada, that a concerted movement upon the new settlements would obliterate them as easily as a child wipes pictures from off his slate. His desire for London as a capital was principally that it would oppose a barrier between the Six Nations and the Western Indians. He used all the diplomacy, in the methods of the day, to satisfy them that it was to their interest to remain loyal to the king, and those methods were often no better than the rum bottle and the abuse of opponents in the plainest language. The officials who were appointed to protect them were often their darkest enemies, cheated them and confirmed them, by their example, in idleness and profligacy. Yet there was at the heart of these puerile negotiations, this control that seemed to be founded on debauchery and license, this alliance that was based on a childish system of presents, a principle that has been carried

out without cessation and with increased vigilance to the present day, the principle of the sacredness of treaty promises. Whatever had been once written down and signed by king and chief, both will be bound by, so long as "the sun shines and the water runs."

The Indian nature now seems like a fire that is waning, that is smouldering and dying away in ashes. In Simcoe's time it was full of force and heat. It was ready to break out at any moment in savage dances, in wild and desperate orgies in which ancient superstitions were involved with European ideas but dimly understood, and intensified by cunning imaginations inflamed with rum. Where stood clustered the wigwams and rude shelters of Brant's people now stretch the opulent fields of the township of Tuscarora; and all down the valley of the Grand River there is no visible line of demarcation between the farms tilled by the ancient allies in foray and ambush who have become confederates throughout a peaceful year in seed time and harvest.

These aborigines lend a lurid dash of colour to the romantic procession of the earliest inhabitants of Upper Canada. They file by and we watch and comment upon each group and character: the Indians with their wild cries, their tomahawks in one hand, a few green ears of maize in the other; the red-coated soldiers, tramping in their formal dress with their unwieldy accoutrements; the civil

officers in their wigs and silk tights; the merchants proud with the virgin gains of the new province; the settlers, clad in homespun, the staunch men with their well-made flails, the noble women, children at breast, with their distaffs; the priests of the first churches bearing the weight of the law and the promise; the trapper in his bonnet of mink nodding with squirrel tails, and blouse and leggings of deerskin; the circuit rider with his eye of fire, his tongue ready as a whip of scorpions; the explorer with the abstracted step and deep glance that looks with certitude upon lands and rivers that no man ever saw; and before them all the figure of the governor who was endeavouring by precept and example to mould their diverse elements into a nation that would meet and match his own lofty ideal of what the new western nation should be.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEGISLATURE

IT was at Kingston that the government of Upper Canada was organized. Simcoe, proceeding to Niagara, here met the members of the legislative council. Four had been appointed in England, William Osgoode, William Robertson, Peter Russell and Alexander Grant. Robertson did not come to Canada; shortly after his appointment he resigned, and his place was filled on June 21st, 1793, by the appointment of Æneas Shaw. The remaining members were John Munro, of Matilda; Richard Duncan, of Rapid Plat; James Baby, of Detroit; Richard Cartwright, jr., of Kingston; and Robert Hamilton, of Niagara. In the little church opposite the market-place the commissions were read and the oaths administered. It was on July 8th that Simcoe, surrounded by his councillors and in the presence of the handful of Loyalists who had left their clearings to welcome him, solemnly undertook to administer British principles under a constitution that he believed to be "the most excellent that was ever bestowed upon a colony."

Upon the following day Osgoode, Russell and Baby were sworn as executive councillors; Littlehales was appointed clerk of the council, Jarvis

secretary, and both took the oaths. On the eleventh Grant was sworn as executive councillor and took his seat. From the tenth to the fifteenth the council was engaged upon the division of the province into counties and ridings for electoral purposes. A session was held upon Sunday the fifteenth, so eager was the new council for the dispatch of business. The division based upon the militia returns was finished, and a proclamation was drawn up and issued on the sixteenth. This proclamation was afterwards printed for circulation by Fleury Mesplet in Montreal. The division into counties and the number of members in the assembly to which each riding was entitled together with the names[1] of the men who represented the ridings in the first parliament were as follows:—

FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA, 1792-6.

Glengarry (2), John Macdonell (speaker), Hugh Macdonell; Stormont (1), Jeremiah French; Dundas (1), Alexander Campbell; Grenville (1), Ephraim Jones; Leeds and Frontenac (1), John White; Addington and Ontario (1), Joshua Booth; Prince Edward and Adolphustown (1), Philip Dorland (not seated), Peter Van Alstine (seated 1793); Lennox, Hastings, and Northumberland (1), Hazleton Spen-

[1] I am indebted for this information to the researches of C. C. James, Esq., F.R.S.C., the Deputy-Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, who, for the first time, has compiled a correct list of the members and their ridings. See *Transactions Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. viii, second series.

cer; Durham, York and 1st Lincoln (1), Nathaniel Pettit; 2nd Lincoln (1), Benjamin Pawling; 3rd Lincoln (1), Parshall Terry; 4th Lincoln and Norfolk (1), Isaac Swayze; Suffolk and Essex (1), Francis Baby; Kent (2), D. W. Smith and William Macomb. Total: 16.

Philip Dorland, of Prince Edward and Adolphustown, was a Quaker, and as he refused to take the oath and could not be allowed to affirm, a new election was ordered and Peter Van Alstine was returned.

Each member was no doubt a man of prominence in his district, and stood for what was best in the community. As yet political parties had not been formed, and the choice was made upon personal considerations alone. Simcoe had endeavoured to secure the return of half-pay officers, men of education, and he congratulated himself that his temporary residence at Kingston created sufficient influence to elect Mr. White, who became attorney-general. But the result of the first election was that the majority of the seats were filled by men who kept but one table, who dined in common with their servants, and who did not belong to the aristocracy of the province. It is a fact worthy of note that Mr. Baby sat in this first parliament as the representative from the Detroit district, that fort and settlement having not then passed from under British control.

On September 17th, 1792, the scene enacted at

Niagara was a notable one. The frame in which the moving picture was set was worthy of the subject: the little niche cut in the forest at the edge of the river where the great lake swept away to the horizon, upon every side the untouched forest, tracked with paths leading through wildernesses to waterways which lay like oceans impearled in a setting of emerald; everywhere the woods peopled with wild life; to the south the land, alienated and estranged, where almost every actor in the scene had shed blood, and upon the edge of which still waved the flag of England from the bastion of Fort Niagara. The actors had come from the ends of the earth: the war-worn regiments of King George; settlers clad in homespun in which they moved with as great dignity as when, in days gone by, they were clad in the height of the mode; retired officers who had seen half the civilized world and who were content with this savage corner; Indians in their aboriginal pomp of paint and feathers, begirdled with their enemies' scalps, the chiefs of the great confederacy and those of friendly tribes from the far West. The ceremony which they gazed upon was the fulfilment of all they had fought for, the symbol of their principles and faith. It showed their children that here was the arm of England again stretched forth to do right, and mete out justice, to maintain her authority and protect her people. With as great circumstance as could be summoned, Simcoe had arranged the drama. It

was a miniature Westminster on the breast of the wilderness: the brilliancy of the infantry uniforms, leagues from the Horse Guards, yet burnished as if they were to meet the eye of the commander-in-chief, every strap and every button in place; the dark green of the Queen's Rangers, who had taken a name and uniform already tried and famous; from the fort the roar of guns answered by the sloops in the harbour.

The first session was held in Freemasons' Hall, and the general orders for the day directed that a subaltern guard of the 5th Regiment should be there mounted. At mid-day the governor proceeded to the hall, accompanied by a guard of honour, and delivered his speech from the Throne. It should be quoted as the first utterance of a British governor to the representatives of a colony assembled under a free constitution.

"Honourable gentlemen of the Legislative Council and gentlemen of the House of Assembly:—I have summoned you together under the authority of an Act of Parliament of Great Britain, passed in the last year, which has established the British Constitution and all the forms which secure and maintain it in this distant country.

"The wisdom and beneficence of our most gracious sovereign and the British parliament have been eminently proved, not only in imparting to us the same form of government, but in securing the benefit by the many provisions which guard

this memorable Act, so that the blessings of our invulnerable constitution, thus protected and amplified, we hope will be extended to the remotest posterity.

"The great and momentous trusts and duties which have been committed to the representatives of this province, in a degree infinitely beyond whatever, till this period, have distinguished any other colony, have originated from the British nation upon a just consideration of the energy and hazard with which the inhabitants have so conspicuously supported and defended the British Constitution.

"It is from the same patriotism now called upon to exercise, with due deliberation and foresight, the various offices of the civil administration, that your fellow-subjects of the British Empire expect the foundation of union, of industry and wealth, of commerce and power, which may last through all succeeding ages. The natural advantages of the Province of Upper Canada are inferior to none on this side of the Atlantic. There can be no separate interest through its whole extent. The British form of government has prepared the way for its speedy colonization, and I trust that your fostering care will improve the favourable situation, and that a numerous and agricultural people will speedily take possession of a soil and climate which, under the British laws and the munificence with which His Majesty has granted the lands of the Crown, offer such manifest and peculiar encouragements."

Of the first House of Assembly Mr. John Macdonell, of Glengarry, was elected speaker. Mr. Osgoode, chief-justice, was speaker of the legislative council. Captain John Law, a retired officer of the Queen's Rangers, was sergeant-at-arms. The Rev. Dr. Addison opened the sessions with the prescribed prayers. The first session lasted for barely a month, and the House was prorogued on October 15th. But during these weeks eight Acts were passed. Trial by jury was established; the toll for millers was fixed at one-twelfth for milling and bolting; the ancient laws of Canada were abrogated, and those of Britain substituted; the British rules of evidence were to apply; a jail or court-house was to be provided for each of the four districts. The financial problem early made its appearance, and for some years difficulty was met in raising a revenue for the necessary expenditure within the province. A measure to tax wine and spirits was passed by the assembly, but was thrown out by the council. Upon the other hand the assembly viewed with disfavour a tax upon land. Thus early we see the divergence of two classes in the community: the assembly willing to tax the wine of the council, the council ready to tax the land of the assembly. But there was small friction in these primary gatherings.

The most serious question of the day to the settlers was that of the marriage relation. At the first parliament a measure to make valid all exist-

ing marriages was brought before the assembly, but it was withdrawn, and after the close of the session, on November 6th, Simcoe submitted a draft bill to Dundas, accompanied by a report from Richard Cartwright, jr., dated Newark, October 12th, 1792. The latter set forth that:

"The country now Upper Canada was not settled or cultivated in any part, except the settlement of Detroit, till the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, when the several provincial corps doing duty in the province of Quebec were reduced, and, together with many Loyalists from New York, established in different parts of this province, chiefly along the river St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinti. In the meanwhile, from the year 1777, many families of the Loyalists belonging to Butler's Rangers, the Royal Yorkers, Indian Department, and other corps doing duty at the upper posts, had from time to time come into the country, and many young women of these families were contracted in marriage which could not be regularly solemnized, there being no clergymen at the posts, nor in the whole country between them and Montreal. The practice in such cases usually was to go before the officer commanding the post who publicly read to the parties the matrimonial service in the Book of Common Prayer, using the ring and observing the other forms there prescribed, or if he declined it, as was sometimes the case, it was done by the adjutants of the regi-

ment. After the settlements were formed in 1784, the justices of the peace used to perform the marriage ceremony till the establishment of clergymen in the country, when this practice, adopted only from necessity, hath been discontinued in the districts where clergymen reside. This is not yet the case with them all, for though the two lower districts have had each of them a Protestant clergyman since the year 1786, it is but a few months since this (Nassau or Home) district hath been provided with one; and the western district, in which the settlement of Detroit is included, is to this day destitute of that useful and respectable order of men, yet the town of Detroit is, and has been since the conquest of Canada, inhabited for the most part by traders of the Protestant religion who reside there with their families, and among whom many intermarriages have taken place, which formerly were solemnized by the commanding officer or some other layman occasionally appointed by the inhabitants for reading prayers to them on Sundays, but of late more commonly by magistrates, since magistrates have been appointed for that district.

"From these circumstances it has happened that the marriages of the generality of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are not valid in law, and that their children must *stricto jure* be considered as illegitimate and consequently not entitled to inherit their property. Indeed, this would have been the case, in my opinion, had the marriage ceremony

been performed even by a regular clergyman, and with due observance of all the forms prescribed by the laws of England. For the clause in the Act of the fourteenth year of his present Majesty for regulating the government of Quebec which declares 'That in all cases of controversy relative to property and civil rights, resort shall be had to the laws of Canada as the rule for the decision of the same,' appears to me to invalidate all marriages not solemnized according to the rites of the Church of Rome, so far as these marriages are considered as giving any title to property."

During recess the form of the Act to make valid past and to provide for future marriages was settled, and the Act was passed at the second session, which met on May 31st, 1793, and prorogued on July 9th. Simcoe felt the urgency of this measure, and it at once received his assent and was not referred to the home government for approval. The Act provided that marriages contracted irregularly in the past were made legally binding. It was merely necessary for the parties to the contract to make oath that their relations were those of husband and wife. For the future the ceremony could be performed by a justice of the peace, if the contracting parties were distant eighteen miles from a clergyman; the prescribed Church of England form was to be in every case followed. When five clergymen of that church were resident in the district the Act was to be non-effective.

THE SECOND SESSION

At this session the foundation of municipal government was laid by the passage of an Act "to provide for the nomination and appointment of parish and town officers throughout this province." The Act gave but small powers to the township councils, but the meetings which it provided for formed the training-school for politicians. Here the questions of the day were discussed, and it has been aptly remarked by Mr. J. M. McEvoy in his pamphlet on *The Ontario Township*, that "it was the conception of law that was fostered in the men of Ontario by their town meeting, which led in a large measure to the establishment of responsible government in this province."

The most important remaining Acts of the second session were: an Act to encourage the destruction of wolves and bears; an Act for the maintenance of roads; an Act to prevent the introduction of negro slaves. The latter Act met with singular opposition. There are no statistics available to show the number of slaves in servitude in the province, but many had been obtained during the war by purchase from the Indians who had captured them in forays in American territory. Obtained from such a source, the price paid was small, and owing to the arduous conditions of labour and the scarcity of labourers in the new colony the value of the negroes was very great. The feeling even among those who admitted the necessity for the legislation was that action should be postponed for

two years to allow those who had no slaves to procure them. Simcoe gave his strongest support to the bill, and his influence led to its passage.

One may be sure that he had been deeply and actively interested in the agitation begun in 1787 by Wilberforce, Sharpe, and their associates for the abolition of the trade. It took twenty years of constant work before the end was accomplished in Great Britain. Denmark led the nations and struck down the wretched traffic by royal order of May 16th, 1792; then followed the Upper Canadian legislature, first of all British colonies. Simcoe had broken the ring that bound the dependencies of the mother country. His feeling upon the subject was strong, and one of his earliest resolves was to purge the colony of this evil. He had stated that: "The moment that I assume the government of Upper Canada under no modification will I assent to a law that discriminates, by dishonest policy, between the natives of Africa, America, or Europe." The Act of George III, ch. 27, which permitted the admission of slaves into a colony, was repealed; in future, no slave could be brought into the province; the term of contract under which a slave could be bound was nine years; children of slaves then in the province were to be declared free when they reached the age of twenty-five, until which time they were to remain with their mothers. In due time, owing to the gradual operation of these provisions, slavery disappeared, and it was no longer possible to read

in the *Gazette* such notices as the following that appeared in the issue of August 19th, 1795:—

"Sale for three years of a negro wench named Chloe, 23 years old, who understands washing, cooking, etc. Apply to Robert Franklin, at the Receiver-General's."

The third session of the legislature opened on June 2nd, 1794, and closed on July 7th. It may be termed the war-session of Simcoe's administration. He believed that hostilities had been declared by Great Britain against the United States, and he had, but a few weeks before the opening, returned from the rapids of the Miami, where he had established a strong post as part of a system for the defence of Detroit. The Militia Act was, therefore, the most important of the twelve Acts passed during this session. It gave the governor power to employ the militia upon the water in vessels or *bateaux*, and thus made it possible to dispute the control of the lakes and to oppose any naval force that a hostile power might collect to destroy the exposed settlements upon the shores. It also gave the governor power to form troops of cavalry, and completed the organization of all branches of the militia.

By the Act to regulate the practice of the law the governor was given power to license proper persons to appear before the courts; at the time the Act was passed there were only two duly qualified lawyers in the province. The bill to establish

a superior court was the measure that caused the greatest discussion. The need of some tribunal of appeal was keenly felt, and so great was the interest that the legislative assembly adjourned to hear the debate in the council. Here the opposition centred with Cartwright and Hamilton, and to these gentlemen Simcoe does not ascribe disinterested motives. He thought they wished to keep in their own hands the trial of such cases as could under the Act be referred to the new court. But their opposition, though it now appears disinterested, was fruitless. So eager was the Lower House to further the bill that it could hardly be restrained from the undignified course of passing all its readings at one session.

An Act imposing a duty upon stills was also placed upon the statute-book. Annual licenses were to be granted; the fee was to be 15d. for every gallon that the body of the still was capable of containing.

Of the opening of the fourth session, which took place on July 6th, 1795, an account has been preserved by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. He says: "The governor had deferred it till that time on account of the expected arrival of a chief-justice, who was to come from England; and from a hope that he should be able to acquaint the members with the particulars of the treaty with the United States, but the harvest was now begun, which, in a higher degree than elsewhere, engages

in Canada the public attention, far beyond what state affairs can do. Two members of the legislative council were present instead of seven; no chief-justice appeared, who was to act as speaker; instead of sixteen members of the assembly five only attended, and this was the whole number which could be collected at this time. The law requires a greater number of members for each House to discuss and determine upon any business, but, within two days, a year will have expired since the last session. The governor has, therefore, thought it right to open the session, reserving, however, to either House the right of proroguing the sittings from one day to another in expectation that the ships from Detroit and Kingston will either bring the members who are yet wanting, or certain intelligence of their not being able to attend.

"The whole retinue of the governor consisted of a guard of fifty men of the garrison of the fort. Dressed in silk, he entered the hall with his hat on his head, attended by his adjutant and two secretaries. The two members of the legislative council gave, by their speaker, notice of it to the assembly. Five members of the latter having appeared at the bar, the governor delivered a speech modelled after that of the king."

Only five Acts were passed at the fourth session, and none of these were of great importance. The agreement with Lower Canada as to the proportion of the revenue derived from duties on

wines and liquors payable to the upper province was confirmed. The amount which the former was found to owe the latter for the years 1793 and 1794 was £333 4s. 2d. It was also agreed that one-eighth of all the revenue collected in the lower was to be set apart for the use and benefit of the upper province, and the agreement was to terminate in 1796. The Act to provide for the public register of deeds, conveyances, and wills was rendered necessary by the failure of many of the settlers to exchange their land certificates for grants. The motive of the bill was "to authenticate and confirm the title and property of individuals." The remaining Acts were: to regulate the practice of physic and surgery, it abrogated a law of Quebec which did not apply to Upper Canada; as to the eligibility of persons to be returned to the House of Assembly; to amend the Act of the third session with regard to superior courts. The House prorogued on August 19th.

The fifth and last session of the first parliament met on May 16th and was prorogued on June 20th, 1796. The Acts numbered seven. The most important were an Act which amended the Superior Court Bill of the session of 1794, and an Act to ascertain and limit the value of certain current coins. The names of a few of these pieces with their value as regulated by this Act will show how mixed were the coins then in circulation. The Johannes of Portugal, weighing 18 dwt. Troy, was

valued at £4; the Moidora of Portugal, weighing 16 dwt. and 18 grains Troy, was valued at £1 10s.; the milled dubloon or four-pistole piece of Spain, 17 dwt. Troy, was valued at £3 16s. The penalty for counterfeiting was death; and for uttering or tendering false coins was one year's imprisonment and one hour in the pillory for the first offence, and for the second the culprit was adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

As the settlement of the country had progressed, it was found necessary to repeal the Act for the destruction of wolves and bears.

The governor, who was upon the eve of departure for England, closed the legislature with a few pompous and overwrought periods. His official utterances were all set in a key remote from that in which he composed his dispatches or his intimate epistles. He evidently thought it becoming to speak with as heavy an accent as possible when he addressed the Houses from the throne. "It is not possible for me without emotion to contemplate that we have been called upon to execute the most important trust that can be delegated by the king and British parliament during a period of awful and stupendous events which still agitate the greater part of mankind, and which have threatened to involve all that is valuable in court society in one promiscuous ruin. However remote we have been happily placed from the scene of these events, we have not been without their influence; but, by the

blessing of God, it has only been sufficient to prove that this province, founded upon the rock of loyalty, demonstrates one common spirit in the defence of its king and country. . . .

"It is our immediate duty to recommend our public acts to our fellow-subjects by the efficacy of our private example; and to contribute, in this tract of the British empire, to form a nation obedient to the laws, frugal, temperate, industrious, impressed with a steadfast love of justice, of honour, of public good, with unshaken probity and fortitude amongst men, with Christian piety and gratitude to God. Conscious of the intentions of well-doing, I shall ever cherish with reverence and humble acknowledgment the remembrance that it is my singular happiness to have borne to this province the powers, the privileges and the practice of the British Constitution; that perpetual acknowledgment of the good-will of the empire, the reward of tried affection and loyalty, can but fulfil the just end of all government, as the experience of ages hath proved, by communicating universally protection and prosperity to those who make a rightful use of its advantages."

As has been stated, the first session of the legislature was held in Freemasons' Hall. The business of the next four sessions was transacted in additions to the barracks of Butler's Rangers. These additions were made by Simcoe's orders in the spring of 1793. They were of a temporary charac-

ter, in fact, Simcoe refers to them as "sheds," and they were likely built of rough lumber and furnished with benches and tables made by the carpenters of the regiments. They were sufficiently commodious to cover the little parliament and the officers of the government. As the work was performed by the garrison, and as Simcoe intended the additions to house the soldiers from Fort Niagara when the posts should be evacuated, he requested that the expenditure might be charged to the military chest; but the war office would not consent, and the charge was made against the public account. In those days no detail of management was too petty for notice, and the war office considered it of enough importance to order, over the Duke of Richmond's signature, that a new lock should be placed on a storehouse door and the key should be kept by the commandant of the post.

Simcoe had, for the greater part, nothing but praise for his legislators. They were loyal and true, and supported government worthily, a matter, probably, of surprise to his mind, seeing that some of them were dissenters and others would sit down with and pass food to their servants in the republican fashion. And republican principles he could not abide. His life had been a continuous struggle against them. He abhorred them when he recognized them in his legislative council. He brands Hamilton as an avowed republican, and Cartwright as his friend and in league with him. He finds

them opposing his schemes, and requests the appointment of Captain Shaw to the legislative council, so that the plotters may have to face another staunch friend of the constitution. A little later he causes them to be told that he was the arbiter in all contracts. Now the contract for provisioning the troops with flour was in Cartwright's hands, and Simcoe alleges that after this announcement he grew more civil and amenable.

These hasty charges show the temper of the governor, and Cartwright and his companion have the best of the argument when their motives are examined. The former, writing to his friend Isaac Todd says manfully that "though I do not think it necessary to bow with reverence to the wayward fancies of every sub-delegate of the executive government, I will not hesitate to assert that His Majesty has not two more loyal subjects, and in this province certainly none more useful than Mr. Hamilton and myself, nor shall even the little pitiful jealousy that exists with respect to us make us otherwise, and though I hope we shall always have fortitude enough to do our duty, we are by no means disposed to form cabals, and certainly have not, nor do intend wantonly to oppose or thwart the governor."

It required only the closer contact with Mr. Cartwright, that Governor Simcoe's residence at Kingston during the winter of 1794-5 gave, to show him what a valuable man to the province and

particularly to his own section the legislative councillor was, and this the governor ungrudingly acknowledged in his dispatches. It is probable that he was met with reserve by some of the chief men of the province, for Sir John Johnson, who from Lord Dorchester's influence had confidently expected the appointment as governor, had promised office and distinction to several who were passed over by Simcoe. During his first days in the country Simcoe had sought an explanation with Sir John which "restored his good humour," and there can be no doubt that the governor's singleness of purpose and his native sense of justice would soon conquer any small hostility that may have been occasioned by his appointment. When he bade farewell to the first parliament of Upper Canada he may have expected to meet a newly-elected House the next summer; but his leave of absence was changed to commission for other important service, and he never again saw Toronto harbour, its sparkling waters and low shores darkly covered with a cloud of trees, or the little town of Niagara, clustered by the dark, turbulent river, or Navy Hall under the ensign of England that blew freely in the lake breeze.

CHAPTER VII

LAND AND TRADE

IN a country newly opened for settlement the land regulations are of the greatest importance to the inhabitants and the prospective settlers, and in the early days of Upper Canada they were the first rules that had to be observed. They were, however, of the simplest. The settler held his lands under a certificate signed by the governor and countersigned by the surveyor-general or his deputy. The locations were decided by chance, lots being drawn and situations fixed accordingly. The certificate set forth that at the end of twelve months the holder should be entitled to a deed and become possessor of his land with power to dispose of it at will. Now if the original grantee had held his land secure until the patent was handed him, no confusion would have ensued. But so soon as the allotments were made in 1784 and certificates issued, barter and exchange began. Some settlers were compelled by sheer necessity to sell or mortgage a portion of their lands; others found that their locations were too small to admit of successful farming operations and added to them by purchasing from their neighbours. So under these

unsafe conditions of title, property was constantly changing hands. The Land Boards, constituted in 1788, attempted to check land speculation, which had made its appearance even at that early date in the history of the province, by issuing all new certificates subject to the condition that lands so granted would be forfeited if not actually settled upon within the year. They were also not transferable without the sanction of the board.

These regulations were but a rude attempt to maintain a proper system of registration. They could not control the larger grants to officers nor affect the lands in townships only in part surveyed. The exchanges, purchases, and mortgaging went on unchecked, and for ten years the only foundation of title was the original certificate or a scrap of paper that had at some time taken its place. Simcoe found that, although ten years had elapsed since the first allotments had been made, scarcely a single grant had been ratified, and that there seemed to be a disposition in many persons to deny the necessity of the exchange of certificates for grants. This state of affairs was viewed with extreme dissatisfaction by those who had any large landed interest in the province and could understand the gravity of the situation.

The fourth session of parliament paved the way for a general issue of patents by providing for the registry of all deeds, mortgages, wills and transfers. Simcoe had the advice of his law officers

and his legislative councillors, and Cartwright, foremost among the latter, gave him the benefit of his views which were sound and well considered. He had not a very favourable opinion of Governor Simcoe as a lawyer, nor of his colleagues in the executive council. "They are not very deep lawyers," he remarked. Mr. Hamilton also laid the whole matter before a London lawyer, while upon a visit to England in 1795, as a member of the community and not in his capacity of legislative councillor. For this he was called to account by the governor who thought the intention should have been mentioned to him. The moot point was whether the original certificates should be recognized by the patents, or the current deed or transfer. The wise view prevailed at length, and when patents were finally issued under the great seal of the province they were so issued to the holders of the land and not to the original possessors under the Land Board certificates.

Land speculation was rife in the province, and the council had to refuse many applications for grants from persons who did not intend to become active settlers. Even with this care many allotments were made for speculative purposes, and the entries for many townships had eventually to be cancelled for non-settlement. Officers of the British army in the Revolutionary War made demands for large tracts of land in Upper Canada as a reward for service. Benedict Arnold was an applicant for a

domain in the new land. He wrote to the Duke of Portland on January 2nd, 1797: "There is no other man in England that has made so great sacrifices as I have done of property, rank, prospects, etc., in support of government, and no man who has received less in return." The moderate area that he desired was about thirty-one square miles. Simcoe was asked his opinion of such a grant, and on March 26th, 1798, he replies that there is no *legal* objection but that "General Arnold is a character extremely obnoxious to the *original* Loyalists of America." From the date of this letter it will be observed that during his residence in England, after leaving Upper Canada, Simcoe was consulted by the government upon Upper Canadian affairs. He, himself, on July 9th, 1793, received a grant of five thousand acres, as colonel of the first regiment of Queen's Rangers. The operations of colonization companies began after Simcoe left the country, and, interesting as some of them are, they do not fall within the term of this story. The Land Boards, which had existed since 1788, were discontinued on November 6th, 1794, after which date the council dealt with all petitions for large grants of land, the magistrates of the different districts dealt with allotments of small areas of two hundred acres.

The beginnings of trade and commerce in a province that now takes such a great and worthy place in the world as a producing power are in-

teresting, and to trace and chronicle them is a useful task.

The fur trade was the first and for many years the only source of wealth in the country afterwards called Upper Canada. It was carried on by the great companies as well as by individual traders. The Indians were the producers of this wealth and the first, and, it may be said, by far the smallest, profits came to them. Whatever small benefit was derived from the supply of clothing and provisions which the traders bartered for the peltry, was offset by the debauchery and licentiousness that follows wherever and whenever the white man comes into contact with an aboriginal race.

The tribes were often ruled by these traders who flattered the chiefs, hoodwinked the warriors, fomented quarrels to serve their own ends and did not scruple to attribute to governments policies and compacts which they had never contemplated nor completed. Rum was the great argument that preceded and closed every transaction. The natural craving for this stimulant was so well served that after a successful trade an Indian camp became a wild and raging scene of debauchery, wantonness and license. During the dances that accompanied and fanned these orgies the great chiefs changed their dresses nine or ten times, covered themselves with filthy magnificence and vied one with the other in the costliness and completeness of their paraphernalia. Such a trade could add but little

to the capital of a country; it served to enrich those who had made the adventure in goods, but no permanent investment of capital was necessary for its maintenance, and when the source of supply was drained it disappeared and left the Indians worse off than they were before its advent and development.

Simcoe saw the positive evils and negative results of this factitious trade and endeavoured to control it. He proposed as a means to this end to confine the traders to the towns and settled communities, and thus prevent them from crossing into the Indian country. By this regulation the Indians would become the carriers of their own furs, and coming first into contact with the settlers would part with their wealth in exchange for provisions and not spirits. The settler would for his part receive skins that were as ready money when that article was scarce. Thus an internal fur trade would be established, and a certain portion of the wealth would be retained in the country. With the advent of hatters, the craft they carried on would consume a great number of the skins and the contraband trade in hats would gradually diminish. In 1794 three hatters had already come into the province to establish themselves.

One result of this trade and barter between settler and Indian was that an illegal exchange sprang up between the former and the Americans who settled New York state. All the cattle, many of the

implements, and much of the furniture of the first Upper Canadians were obtained by the sale of furs in this manner. Not only did American products thus find their way into the country, but goods of the East India Company and even articles and materials made in Great Britain. Smuggling was too common and too convenient to be looked upon with disfavour. The frontiers lay open and unprotected, and the thickly wooded country made detection impossible even had there been an army of preventive officers, and these were, in fact, but few.

This dishonest trade was beyond the power of government to control, but Simcoe was impressed with the importance of promoting commercial connections with the republic. He recommended the establishment of dépôts of the East India Company at Kingston and Niagara to sell merchandise, chiefly teas, to the people of the state of New York. He believed his province to be the best agricultural district in North America, and pointed out how its forests might be replaced by fields of hemp, flax, tobacco and indigo. Hemp, as a source of wealth to the settler and of supply for the cordage of the lake fleet, was a subject of his constant attention. The exports of potash had begun to fall away somewhat during the term of Simcoe's government; affected by the war in Europe prices had fallen, and as the land became cleared, and the area under crop more extensive this early industry gradually waned.

The staple product of the country was wheat and Simcoe paid the greatest attention to developing this source of prosperity and wealth. Pork came next in importance as an article for export and for domestic consumption. The exports from Kingston during the year 1794 will show what progress the colony had made. The figures are interesting as they mark a term of ten years from the time the first kernel of seed was sown.

EXPORTS FROM KINGSTON, 1794

To Lower Canada

	£	s.	d.
12,823 bushels of wheat (Winchester measure) at 3s.	1,923	9	0
896 bbls. of flour at 23s. 4d.	1,045	6	8
83 " middlings or biscuit flour at 15s	62	5	0
3,016 lbs. hogs' lard at 6d.	75	8	0
15 tons of potash at £18.	270	0	0
	£3,376	8	8

For the Troops

	£	s.	d.
3,240 bbls. of flour at 23s. 4d.	3,780	0	0
2,938 bush. of pease at 4s. 6d.	661	1	0
480 bbls. of pork at 90s.	2,160	0	0
	£6,601	1	0

To Niagara and York

	£	s.	d.
1,624 bush. of wheat at 3s.	243	12	0
356 bbls. of flour at 23s. 4d.	415	6	8
2,500 lbs. of gammon at 8d.	83	6	8
	£742	5	4

Total, £10,719 15s. 0d.

The most important achievement that these figures set forth is the victualling of the troops.

Agriculture, from furnishing a bare subsistence to the people during the first few years, had developed so rapidly that the surplus was sufficiently large to supply York and Niagara where settlement was still active, and to relieve the commissariat to a great extent from the necessity of importing the staples—flour and pork. Upon the quantity of supplies furnished for the troops mentioned in the statement, there was a saving of £2,420 14s., so excessive were the rates of carriage. It cost ten pence to freight one bushel of wheat from Kingston to Montreal. The only means of transport were rude *bateaux*, the risk of total loss was great, and after a most favourable voyage the actual loss from waste in transhipment was very considerable.

Commerce in the country was on every side beset with difficulties. Mr. Richard Cartwright thus describes the business methods of his day: "The merchant sends his order for English goods to his correspondent at Montreal, who imports them from London, guarantees the payment of them there, and receives and forwards them to this country for a commission of five per cent. on the amount of the English invoice. The payments are all made by the Upper Canada merchant in Montreal, and there is no direct communication whatever between him and the shipper in London. The order, too, must be limited to dry goods, and he must purchase his liquors on the best terms he can in the home market; and if he wishes to have his furs or

potash shipped for the London market, he pays a commission of one per cent. on their estimated value; if sold in Montreal, he is charged two and one-half per cent on the amount of the sales."

But while the merchant had these barriers of commissions and difficult transportation to surmount the settler was in a most unenviable position. His sole sources of wealth were his wheat and pork; these the merchants would buy only in such quantities as they chose and when it suited them. They would pay only in goods, charged at the highest current prices, or by note of hand redeemable always on a fixed date, October 10th. The absence of any adequate and plentiful medium of exchange was a heavy burden upon the struggling settler, who was in the hands of the buyer. The latter might say "it is naught, it is naught," but, nevertheless, it was a real, pressing and overbearing weight to be carried.

Simcoe had endeavoured to loosen the grasp of the merchant, so far as his immediate power would serve, by resuming the contracts for the purchase of supplies for the troops and placing the responsibility in the hands of an agent who would deal justly and equitably both in the matter of prices and quantities. Although his duty was to the king primarily, yet it was largely in the king's interest that his pioneers should have fair pay and ready money, so that his duty was also to the struggling settler and his little field of grain filling between

the charred stumps of his clearing. This was a step in advance, yet the main branch of the trouble would remain untouched until some medium of exchange—in fact, a currency—appeared to cover the small local transactions between buyer and seller.

Simcoe, who left not the smallest need of the country untouched in his exhaustive dispatches, did not pass by this grave want. He had great faith in the intervention of government in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. He was ever making demands that argued the inexhaustible treasure-chest and the beneficent will. When England was engaged in wars and treaties that called for her utmost resources, a cry came out from Upper Canada for grants for all purposes, from the founding of a university to the providing of an instructor in the manufacture of salt.

He proposed a grand and far-reaching scheme to meet the obstructions to trade which I have mentioned. He proposed that Great Britain should send out a large sum in gold which would form the capital of a company to be formed of the executive and legislative councillors and the chief men in the province. This sum, he says naïvely, should be repaid, if expedient, by the sale of lands on Lake Erie. Inspectors were to be appointed whose duty it would be to examine all mills and recommend such processes as would reduce their products to a normal standard of quality.

The king's vessels should be used for transport across the lakes. A large dépôt or receiving-house was to be erected at Montreal, where all the flour was to be pooled. For every barrel there received a note was to issue, payable in gold or silver at stated periods, and these notes were to be legal tender for the payment of taxes. The freight of all government stores was to be conducted by the company under a contract based upon the prices paid for the three or four years preceding. The benefits that Simcoe hoped to secure by this arrangement were: a provision for the consumption of the flour produced, a medium of exchange instead of merchants' notes, lower rates for transportation from Montreal, ease and certainty in victualling the troops, a sure supply of flour for the West Indies, and a stimulating effect upon agriculture as well as upon the allegiance of the Upper Canadians. He wrote, "it cannot fail of conciliating their affection and insensibly connecting them with the British people and government." The lords of trade to whom the scheme was presented could hardly have considered it, and Upper Canada was left to work out its currency problems upon the safer basis of provincial initiative.

The earliest canals were all constructed within the boundaries of the upper province, but during Simcoe's government they received no enlargement. They had been constructed by Haldimand's order, and were maintained by the government, as-

sisted by a toll revenue of ten shillings for each ascent. All transportation took place in *bateaux*, built strongly, with a draft of about two feet, with a width of six and a length of twenty feet. These were towed or "tracked" up the river and passed through the primitive canals wherever they had been constructed. The first canal was met with at Côteau du Lac, it consisted of three locks six feet wide at the gates; the second was at Cascades Point; the third at the Mill Rapids; the fourth at Split Rock. It was many years before these canals were enlarged sufficiently to accommodate the schooners that sailed the upper lakes.

These vessels were constructed upon their shores, and never left their waters. In 1794 there were six boats in the king's service upon the lakes. These were armed; the largest vessels were of the dimensions of the *Onondaga*, eighty tons burden, carrying twelve guns. They were built of unseasoned timber, and their life was barely three years. It cost about four thousand guineas to construct one of the size of the *Onondaga*, and the cost of repairs was proportionately large. The merchant fleet on the lakes numbered fifteen.

The rate of wages throughout the province was high and labourers were scarce. The usual pay for skilled labour was three dollars *per diem*; for farm labourers one dollar *per diem* with board and lodging; for sailors from nine to ten dollars a month; for *voyageurs* eight dollars a month.

Prices were correspondingly high, salt was three dollars a bushel, flour eight dollars a barrel, wood two dollars and a quarter a cord. The commodities that we consider as the commonest necessaries of the table were beyond the reach of the majority of the people; loaf sugar was two shillings and sixpence per pound, and the coarse muscovado one shilling and sixpence; green tea was the most expensive of the teas at seven shillings and sixpence, and Bohea the cheapest at four shillings. The cost of spices may be gauged by the rates charged for ginger, five shillings a pound. A japan teapot cost seven shillings and a copper tea kettle twenty-seven. Fabrics were most expensive, "sprigged" muslin was ten shillings and sixpence a yard, and blue kersey five shillings and sixpence.

Every industry was carried on under great difficulties, mills with insufficient stones, saws and machinery; trades with the fewest tools and those not often the best of quality. The salt wells in which the governor took an early interest were hampered by lack of boilers or any proper appliances. In four years only four hundred and fifty-two bushels of salt had been produced at a selling price of £362. The only requisites at the wells for the production of this most necessary staple were a few old pots and kettles picked up casually. But the trades and manufactures served the needs of the growing population, the units of which were self-reliant and of a courageous temper. The actual population of

POPULATION

Upper Canada is difficult to arrive at accurately. It is stated to have been ten thousand in 1791 when the division of the provinces took place. Writing in 1795, de la Rochefoucauld places it at thirty thousand, but this appears to be exaggerated. The militia returns sent to the lords of trade by Simcoe in 1794 place the number of men able to bear arms at four thousand seven hundred and sixteen, and Mr. Cartwright says that upon June 24th, 1794, the militia returns amounted to five thousand three hundred and fifty. The population during 1796 may have increased to twenty-five thousand. For the breadth of the land this was a mere sprinkling of humanity over an area that now supports above two millions.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALARMS OF WAR

THE possibility of war with the United States had always been present to Simcoe's mind. He feared that before the Canadas could develop sufficient strength to render assault and capture by a determined foe a difficult and uncertain operation the belt of neutral Indian country would be absorbed, the boundary of the nation and the colony would become a single intangible line, and the forces of the United States would overwhelm the weak garrisons of the widely separated posts. All his desire had been for peace. His avowed policy was to prevent war "by the appearance of force and by its concentration," and he hoped that five years of continuous peace and prosperity would find Upper Canada able to sustain itself against any attack that might be made. Upon May 27th, 1793, he had received the dispatch which announced officially the declaration of war with France. To his mind the political leaders of the United States only awaited a pretext to disclose their real feeling of hostility and to begin an invasion. That he might be in possession of the latest advices from Europe, he had sent his secretary, Talbot, to Philadelphia to confer with Hammond, the British plenipoten-

tiary, but before his return the news had come direct to his hand. Although it was necessary for him to be vigilant and to take the utmost precautions he was also compelled to be extremely cautious at the moment of his receipt of the dispatch, for he had under his roof three commissioners from the power he distrusted, whose object was to make a treaty of peace with the Indians. It was important that this treaty should be concluded, and that by an acknowledgment of the Ohio as the boundary of the Indian domain, a belt of neutral territory should be imposed between the two countries.

The relations of Great Britain with the United States at this time were peculiar, and there is no room for wonder that they were strained almost to the breaking point. Certain articles of the Treaty of Paris had not been carried out in their integrity by the United States. These clauses were precisely those the non-observance of which would cause the most bitter feeling of hostility on the part of the colonists. Clauses V and VI dealt, respectively, with the restitution of Loyalist losses and complete cessation of all reprisals by the Americans on those who had taken the king's side in the war. In the event, reprisals were made, and any movement to restore property destroyed during the Revolution was as unsubstantial as the smoke which had swallowed up the Loyalist rooftrees and granaries. The most important effect of the chica-

nery was to give the British colonies an infusion of the best blood of the republic. The Loyalists came trooping in with empty hands but with stern and intrepid hearts. A less important result was that Great Britain refused to evacuate certain of the western posts, and over them, well within United States territory as deliminated by the treaty of 1783, the royal flag still flew.

In vain had the United States demanded the delivery of these posts; they were quietly retained as an earnest that a treaty remained unfulfilled. Of itself this position was sufficiently delicate, but it was complicated by the war which for some time had been raging between the troops of the United States and the Indians. And in this conflict Great Britain was bound to the Indian cause. In the view of the States she was fomenting the trouble and assisting the savages by her advice and protection. But her policy was far different. She felt compelled to see justice done her Indians, and there was no basis of right or justice in the appropriation by American settlers of lands which had never been surrendered by their aboriginal owners. Despite all the argument and all the force which the Indians could use these spoliations went steadily on until the friendship of Great Britain with the tribes was shaken. It came to be alleged that, by the treaty, the king had given away these Indian lands to which he had no right or title, and this view was enforced wherever possible by emissaries of the republic. This

Indian estrangement had to be conquered, and we shall see in a page or two how Dorchester, aided by Simcoe, overcame it and quieted the fears and suspicions of the tribes. It was necessary, as well for the safety of the Indians as for the protection of Canada, that these Indian lands should be respected. The trend of all the British diplomacy of that day was to endeavour to maintain the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi as an Indian domain that would serve as a breakwater before the British frontier against the waves of American aggression. Now in the light of events the policy seems as infantine as to endeavour to keep back Atlantic surges by a frail wall of sand heaped up by children at play. But it was honestly and with every peaceable desire kept in the front by the officers of the king's government.

Upon the side of the United States the efforts for peace were more persistent and strenuous as the troubled state of the border checked the settlement of the rich watershed of the Ohio, and the activity of the Indians filled the pioneers with terror and dismay. Force had been tried, and with lamentable results. The expedition under General St. Clair that was organized with such care and forwarded with every hope of success, had been crushed upon its first encounter with the Indians. Moving incautiously, without those safeguards so necessary in border warfare, the force became involved in an ambuscade. Suddenly the woods were

alive with Indians, the pickets were driven in, the soldiers were hurled back and swept through the camp, and it was the greed of the Indians alone that enabled any portion of the army to escape. The sight of the stores was too great a temptation for the savages, who preferred plunder to a feast of blood. This battle was fought on November 4th, 1791. St. Clair lost fifteen hundred men, and all the supplies and impedimenta of his army—artillery, baggage, and ammunition. The Indian loss was only twenty-one killed and forty wounded. Another force was placed under General Wayne's command to accomplish the task in which St. Clair had failed so disastrously ; and Wayne was a leader of a very different stamp.

While the pacification by force was still looked upon as possible, the American government had decided to adopt, as well, milder methods. In June of 1792 Brant had visited Philadelphia. Upon the Indian side of the controversy he was held to be the most powerful single force. Although there was a suspicion that he had led the attack upon St. Clair it was ill-founded. Only ten braves of the Six Nations and one chief, Du Quania, participated with the western Indians in the savage glory of that rout. From the late encounter there was no stain upon the great chief of the confederacy, and much was expected from his diplomacy. Accordingly he was received with respect by Washington, and was fêted and honoured in the chief cities of

the republic. A multitude of councillors was also working for peace, chief among whom were the Quakers, who were regarded as friends of all the interested tribes.

The news of the French imbroglio reached Navy Hall during a pause of preparation. As a fruit of Brant's visit to Philadelphia, the tribes had assembled in the autumn of 1792 at the Au Glaize, and it was arranged that the chiefs and warriors should meet the representatives of the United States government during the following spring at Sandusky. It was fixed upon in the council that the Ohio should be demanded as the Indian boundary, and during all the subsequent negotiations this remained the position from which the western Indians never retreated. The Six Nations were fully represented by their chiefs, but Brant himself was not present, having been detained, it is alleged, by illness. It is apparent that at this stage of the negotiations he did not wish to appear as the mediator. He felt that the time had not come when he could stand as the sole bulwark between peace and war, that amid such a number of diverse forces, all tending to one purpose, his influence would be obscured. He, therefore, stood aloof and waited to observe the reception which his chiefs, publishing peace, might be accorded. They were, in fact, treated with expressed scorn in their character of peacemakers with "the voice of the United States folded under their arm." The hostiles triumphed signally,

and the Ohio was to be pressed as the only boundary. Brant did not appear until October 28th, when he met the Shawanese and Delawares at the foot of the Miami Rapids and was officially informed, as it were, of the decision of the great council and warned against Washington and his cunning, advice which must have been unpalatable to the great warrior.

The winter and early spring passed without any change in the position of affairs, but both the Indians and the British viewed with distrust the continued activity of General Wayne. On May 17th two commissioners appointed to meet the Indians at Sandusky, according to agreement, arrived at Navy Hall: Beverley Randolph, late governor of Virginia, and Colonel Timothy Pickering, the postmaster-general. A few days later came the third commissioner, General Benjamin Lincoln, who had fought throughout the Revolutionary War with distinction. They remained at Navy Hall, the guests of Governor Simcoe, until early in July. At the outset there was unexpected difficulty in arranging a date for the conference. Brant had gone westward with his chiefs to attend a preliminary council of the tribes, there were vague rumours of dissension and intrigue. At length the patience of the commissioners was exhausted, and on June 26th they left Niagara, intending to proceed at once to the Detroit River. If the Indians would not come to them, they would approach the In-

dians. But they had only reached Fort Erie when they met Brant with representatives of all the western tribes. Back they trooped to Niagara, and on Sunday morning, July 7th, they met in Freemasons' Hall in the presence of the governor, the British officers, and the prominent Canadians of the district. Brant, the spokesman of the confederates, was expected by them to ask definitely whether the commissioners were empowered to fix the Ohio as a boundary. Now Brant perceived that a negative answer to this demand would close all hope of a compromise, would, in fact, destroy the very foundation on which the peace party hoped to build; therefore he temporized. He emasculated the question which became merely a request to know whether the commissioners were authorized to fix the boundary. The answer was simply affirmative. Brant had gained time, but he had lost every vestige of power over the western tribes, who, from that day forward, considered him a traitor to their common interests.

After lasting for a few days the preliminary meeting broke up, and the commissioners proceeded to the mouth of the Detroit River and remained at Captain Elliot's, the local Indian superintendent. Simcoe had refused politely to allow them to gain a sight of the defences of Detroit. Here they dallied until the fourteenth of August. The great council was in progress at the Au Glaize and messages were sent and received. But the Indians were now

thoroughly alarmed; from the south their runners brought word of Wayne's activity, and they had no assurance that the waters of the Ohio would flow across the path of future aggression. Brant had weakened his influence and all the eloquence of the Corn-planter, the great chief of the Senecas, failed to move the warriors who saw nothing but falseness and duplicity in these efforts. Abruptly the final message came; all hope for further negotiations was at an end, and the friends of peace departed discomfited by their failure.

Thus the peace negotiations fell through and the Indian problem was still unsettled. The proceedings had shown how far separate were the parties to the conference, but they had other effects. They completed Simcoe's distrust of Brant. The governor found only one leading principle in Brant's conduct: "the wish to involve the British empire in a quarrel with the United States." He held him responsible for the collapse of the negotiations and reported that "he [Brant] knew the Pottawattamies of St. Joseph had determined to obtain peace at any rate, and that he thought by siding with them in not absolutely insisting on the Ohio for the boundary might be the means of reconciling them to the general interest." On September 20th, 1793, he wrote to Dundas enclosing a letter from Brant, "by which," he says, "it will appear that he is labouring to effect a pacification upon such terms and principles as he shall think

proper, and which will eventually make him that mediator which the United States have declined to request from His Majesty's government. In this arduous task I cannot believe that he will succeed, as the western Indians consider him as a traitor to their interests and totally in the service of the United States. I am by no means of such an opinion. I believe that he considers the Indian interests as his first object, that as a secondary, though very inferior one, he prefers the British in a certain degree to the people of the States. I consider the use he has made or may make of his power to be an object of just alarm, and that it is necessary, by degrees and on just principles, that it should be diminished. From circumstances, the almost guidance of the superintendent's office, as far as the Six Nations have been concerned, has very imprudently centred in the hands of this chieftain. He has made an artful use of such means of power, and appears in himself to be the dispenser of His Majesty's bounty."

The governor closes this arraignment of the great Mohawk by another appeal for a re-organization of the Indian department, for the abolition of the office of superintendent-general, and for the control by the executive council of the Indian interests with Colonel McKee, the western superintendent, as a member of the council. In truth, the state of the Indian department and its government was a source of constant and just

vexation to Simcoe. The Indian policy was the only field in all his government in which there was any room for diplomacy, and from that field he was officially excluded. The superintendent-general, Sir John Johnson, had been absent for long periods, during which each superintendent administered his office according to instructions that gave no directions for emergencies. Their orders came direct from the superintendent-general or the commander-in-chief at Quebec; the governor was ignorant of them and was not consulted as to the Indian policy. Owing to the influence of Sir John Johnson no change had been made in the administration of the department, although from the first Simcoe had pointed out the advisability of placing the control of the Indians in his province in the hands of the lieutenant-governor.

Simcoe's constant representations as to the unpopularity and dishonesty of the officials of this important department met with no favourable response from Dorchester. His friend, Sir John Johnson, was at the head of that service, and should so remain, subject only to the governor of the province in which it was necessary for him to reside; and it had never come to pass that Upper Canada needed his special attention and residence. Simcoe's final charge threw all responsibility upon other shoulders. He wrote to Dorchester: "I therefore, if it [the Indian department] shall continue on its present independent footing, declare that I con-

sider the present power and authority of my station . . . to be materially and unnecessarily weakened, but more especially, should it be permitted to remain in this insecure situation, I beg not to be understood as responsible for the continuance of peace with the Indian nations, and, as far as their interests are implicated and interwoven, with the subjects of the United States." This vigorous protest called forth a frigid reply from the commander-in-chief, and no changes were inaugurated.

While Simcoe could neither give orders to, nor control, the officers of this department, he yet managed to keep a firm hand upon Indian affairs. To state the fact that he was loved and respected by the Indians is equivalent to the statement that by nature and policy he was fitted to deal with them. He was affectionately called in the Iroquois tongue *Deyotenhokarawen*—" an open door." He was an ideal representative of that firm, true and uniform policy that has made the Canadian Indian believe the British sovereign his great parent and himself a child under beneficent protection.

In thus censuring Brant, Simcoe was taking too absolute a view of the circumstances, as was his wont. The Six Nations, allies and comrades-in-arms of the British, had already suffered much for the cause. Brant had thrown all his personal courage and cunning on the royal side of the balance, and was a terror to the king's enemies on the

field or before the council fire. But circumstances had arrived, in 1792, at a point where mere courage was of non-effect and where the magnitude of the interest at stake paralyzed his diplomacy. He desired to save their lands for his people, but his ambition led him to hope for a personal triumph as well as a tribal, confederate victory. Thus misled, he appeared shifty to those from whom he gained his chief power, and in consequence it crumbled away. That his allegiance to Great Britain may for the moment have become attainted is not impossible. His mind was sufficiently natural to dislike a policy which wore all the semblance of friendship without the warm and active support which companioned that friendship in the old war time. His experience taught him that there would be only one outcome of a war between his people and the United States, and it may have been that by his vacillation, as Simcoe suspected, he wished to gain the open and active assistance of the great power which had always supported him.

While these events were occurring the governor was using every effort to place his frontier in a state of defence. Fort Niagara was strengthened, and York, in the autumn of 1793, was given at least an appearance of fortification by mounting some condemned cannon from Carleton Island. Simcoe had removed to York immediately after the departure of the American commissioners, and arrived in the harbour on July 30th. Here he spent

the summer and the ensuing winter. His correspondence with Sir Alured Clarke upon the military affairs of the province had been harmonious, even cordial. But on September 23rd Lord Dorchester relieved Clarke and took up the reins of government, and from that time forward the relations between the commander-in-chief and the lieutenant-governor were strained. Upon Simcoe's part there was evidently a strong personal feeling against Dorchester. He could not forget his censure of the Queen's Rangers or his patronage of Sir John Johnson for the governorship of Upper Canada.

There are a few words in Simcoe's correspondence with Dundas that lead one to believe that he hoped Dorchester would not assume his government and that he might himself take command at Quebec. To increase this feeling of hostility there soon arose a divergence of opinion which rendered the relations of the two officers unsatisfactory to each. Dorchester, seeing the defence of Canada with a broad sweep, could not approve of Simcoe's suggestions for the protection of the upper province. He disapproved particularly of fortifying York. Simcoe had stated to Clarke that he found it impossible, and, indeed, unnecessary to separate his civil and his military duties, and upon this line he carried on his correspondence with Dorchester. His temper in the circumstances that followed cannot be commended. He was hasty and petulant, his words to Dundas were frequently ill-considered and violent.

Dorchester's views as to the military force necessary for his province are called "immoral." He wrote on December 15th, 1793, to Dundas: "Nothing but the pure principle of doing my utmost for the king's service would for a moment make me wish to remain in a situation where I consider myself liable to become the instrument of the most flagitious breach of national honour and public faith without any military necessity." Dorchester, on the contrary, contained himself and was considerate of his insubordinate officer. The friction is of no public moment, for it resulted in nothing more important than the quarrel itself.

Dorchester was officially correct in controlling the military operations in Upper Canada; and, when he was commanded to act in affairs of importance, Simcoe pushed on with his wonted vigour and dispatch. Very near the close of their relations Dorchester stated to Simcoe that between them there seemed to be some unfortunate mistake which required to be cleared up. "I do not understand," he wrote, "how the officer commanding the troops in this country, whether he approves or disapproves of provincial projects, can interfere with the lieutenant-governor in the exercise of the means intrusted to him by the king's ministers for carrying on the great public measures of his province; and I must suppose, till further explained, that the commander-in-chief is as little under the control of the lieutenant-governor."

I have said that the friction or quarrel of these two officers, each laden with great responsibility, each endeavouring to carry out his duty amid peculiar difficulties, was of no public moment. But it had intimate and private results. The home government endeavoured to conciliate the opposition, and traced with tact the boundaries of the two gubernatorial spheres, and pointed out how, with mutual consideration, no clash need occur. But the personal wounds remained unsalved to the last. Simcoe, upon the eve of his departure, was bitter in his invective; and Dorchester, provoked by the captious opposition of the chief-justices in his own capital, and the insolence of the commander of the forces in the upper province, would fain have recommended the recall of each. "I think," he wrote, "this would not only prevent any disorder for the present, but teach gentlemen in these distant provinces to beware how they sport with the authority of the king, their master, and the tranquillity of his subjects."

But, while upon many points Dorchester and Simcoe differed, there was one opinion which they shared—that war with the United States was inevitable. The autumn and winter of 1793 heard the clamour and din of the American fire-eaters and filibusters rise to such a height that the voices of the prudent and moderate were lost, overwhelmed in the tumult. It was urged that with a French alliance the time would be ripe to sweep the power of Great Britain from the continent. Added to this

agitation there was the menace of Wayne's force ready to strike at Detroit when a favourable opportunity should arise. Dorchester, in November, 1793, gives to Hammond the information that this army consisted of three thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and two hundred Indians. It was his first duty to defend the posts, and Detroit was in no state to stand before such an army. During the early weeks of 1794 the tension increased, and Dorchester wrote to Hammond on February 17th that "Wayne's language implies hostile designs requiring other measures than complaints or repairing a fort of pickets." He believed "a frank statement best, so that it may be understood that trust in forbearance and the desire of peace may be carried too far." A few days earlier, on February 10th, he had made a speech to a deputation of the Seven Nations which had the effect of a frank statement, and was taken by the United States as such. He told the Indians "that from the manner in which the people of the States push on and act and talk, I shall not be surprised if we were at war with them in the course of the present year." The speech, intended only for Indian ears, reached the United States, was printed in the newspapers, and the secretary of state wrote to Hammond that the words were "hostility itself."

Although the letter to Hammond just cited does not contain a hint that Dorchester had decided to take any active measures, upon the same day he

advised Simcoe that as he heard Wayne proposed to close the British up at Detroit he should occupy nearly the same posts as were demolished after the peace on the Miami ; he should arm ships upon the lakes, and prepare to resist Wayne should he attempt to take possession of the country.

For some time the governor had sought guidance from his superior officer as to what his course of action should be if the Americans appeared with an armed naval force upon the lakes. He had been referred in answer to the British plenipotentiary at Philadelphia, and, accordingly, in alarm at the impossibility of obtaining definite instructions in a matter of such moment, he had dispatched Major Littlehales to the American capital to learn from Hammond the "mind of His Majesty's ministers." While his envoy was still at Philadelphia, Dorchester's dispatch was received. Simcoe interpreted it as the declaration of a war policy, and on March 14th he dispatched to the commander-in-chief his plan of aggression, as it was his belief that Upper Canada could not be defended from its own soil. Immediately afterwards he left York. He arrived at the Mohawk village on the Grand River on March 26th, and taking canoes there he reached the rapids of the Miami on April 10th.

An episode now occurred that is worthy of record, more from its strangeness than from any remote bearing upon the subject. Upon April 8th a letter had been received by Simcoe from Baron

Carondelet, the Spanish governor-general of Louisiana, dated January 2nd, 1794, asking him for aid against an expedition that he believed was designed against Louisiana. His information was explicit; the attack was to be made by way of the upper and lower Mississippi; France had intrigued with American Jacobins, the force was known, as well as the fund to supply the insurgents. He asked Simcoe to send five hundred men by way of St. Louis to defeat the designs of the common enemy, as he believed that it was in the interest of Britain that Illinois should remain in possession of Spain. Simcoe agreed to the general statement that such a secured possession was in Great Britain's interests, but that he could not afford assistance to St. Louis even if authorized so to do. He averred that he would be happy were the alliance between the two Crowns strengthened as, in coöperation, their forces would be of consequence should the United States force a war. The letter closed with those courteous messages that Simcoe, gifted in the expression of sentiment, would feel constrained to deliver to a Spanish governor. It was many months afterwards, in the winter of 1794-5, that Simcoe received an answer to his letter; the expected invasion of Spanish territory had not occurred, and Carondelet wasted his words in pointing out how combinations of the Indian forces might be made, and in what manner communications could be maintained. Simcoe, upon reading this epistle, may have smiled at the

recollection of the request for aid from one who was the leader of what he considered a forlorn hope, at the request of Carondelet coming to him in the wilderness while he was gathering his puny force and felling trees to make a breastwork against his immediate foe.

At the rapids of the Miami Simcoe erected as effectual a stronghold as possible, and garrisoned it with one hundred and twenty rank and file of the 24th Regiment, commanded by Major Campbell, and one non-commissioned officer and ten privates of the Royal Artillery. He reports to Dorchester that he also "directed a log house, defensible against necessity, to be built at Turtle Island and another at the River aux Raisins, and mertons of logs in the hog-pen manner to be provided at these posts which, being filled as occasion shall require, will give the adequate means of speedily erecting batteries, and in the meantime these houses will become immediate deposits absolutely necessary to the security of the navigation." Having thus created an outpost to the defence of Detroit, Simcoe hurried back to Niagara to further strengthen the fort, to make a better disposition of the troops under his command, to call out the militia, and to complete the naval force upon Lake Erie. He arrived at Navy Hall on April 27th. The next three months were spent in these preparations, and in this interval the legislature met on June 2nd and prorogued on July 7th. Early in August the governor dis-

patched Lieutenant Sheaffe to the Sodus to protest, in the name of the British government, against the settlement of Americans on that bay, which indents the shore of Lake Ontario in Wayne county, in the state of New York. This visit was made in no hostile spirit, and the lieutenant was accompanied by but one officer and seven unarmed soldiers as oarsmen.

On August 18th all that Simcoe could do for the defence of Canada had been done, the militia of Niagara and Detroit had been drafted, and he was ready to leave for the latter post with all his available force, one hundred men of the 5th Regiment and forty of the Queen's Rangers. With his small army he feared that Wayne could not be successfully opposed. But since Dorchester's speech to the Indians and the establishment of the post at the Miami, Brant had acted with firmness and vigour, and Simcoe expected his assistance and that of every warrior of the Six Nations.

The establishment of a fort by the British fifty miles south of Detroit and within territory formally ceded by treaty, caused violent comment in the United States. An acrimonious correspondence was carried on between Jefferson and Hammond, and the newspapers fanned the excitement. But while this episode was in progress far from the scene of activity, and while Simcoe was disposing his forces and rallying his Indians, Wayne was cautiously advancing. No opportunity was given

for such an ambuscade as broke St. Clair and destroyed his army. His object was solely to crush the Indians, obeying the order of his government. On June 30th he met his foe under the stockade of Fort Recovery, which had been erected upon the ground where Butler fell and St. Clair was defeated. The Indians cut off and drove away a train of pack animals laden with provisions and killed fifty men of the escort. For two days a desultory, but at intervals a fierce fight was maintained. Wayne was not to be surprised or drawn from his defences, and his men, from the loopholes of Fort Recovery, inflicted heavy loss upon the Indians. Discouraged from the continuance of a contest in which they were at a disadvantage, the Indians carried off their dead and wounded and left the field where they had less than two years before crushed St. Clair. But in Wayne they had an adversary of a different stamp. In the wilderness he made no step of which he was not perfectly sure, and when he received reinforcements at Fort Recovery he advanced as rapidly as the nature of the country would permit.

His objective point was the junction of the Au Glaize and the Miami, upon the fertile banks of which lay the Indian villages. When he arrived he met with no resistance. The Indians were taken unawares, and as they retreated towards the rapids, where Major Campbell and his little force held the walls of the new British fort, they

saw above the trees the dense smoke from their huts and cornfields drift away in the wind. Here they took up a position; their left secured by the strong rocky bank of the river, their centre and right involved in a thicket of wood rendered impassable by fallen trees mingled with underbrush, the track of a tornado. The Americans numbered about four thousand, the Indians but one thousand three hundred. With this superior force Wayne advanced, and on August 20th he struck at the position. His dispositions were well planned, the charge was impetuous and intrepid; in a single hour the Indians were rolled back upon the British post, with few losses but thoroughly broken and defeated. The day after the battle Major Campbell addressed a letter to Wayne in which he requested to be informed in what light he was to view Wayne's near approaches to his garrison. The interchange of letters which followed exposed the differing views of the commanders, but had no other result. Wayne demanded that Campbell retire; Campbell retorted that he would not abandon his post at the summons of any power whatever. Wayne's cavalry ranged about within reach of Campbell's guns, over which hung the port-fire, but they withdrew and the match did not descend. Wayne had positive orders not to attack any British garrison, and after burning everything of value which he could discover, including the house and barns of Colonel McKee, the Indian

superintendent, he retired to the Au Glaize on August 28th.

Major Campbell's conduct was highly approved by Simcoe. In a difficult position he had maintained a bold and determined front. His fort was an impromptu affair, half completed, and with but a semblance of strength; his garrison was weak and his guns few; but he did not flinch at Wayne's challenge, and would no doubt have fought him to the death. He received nothing more than the thanks of the home government, that coldly agreed with Simcoe's warm words: "The conduct of this gentleman which, in substance, may have prevented the greatest miseries to the province . . . has most nobly supported the national character." The governor sent one hundred guineas to Major Campbell for distribution as rewards, and if his view could have prevailed, advancement and honour would have followed for the commander of the post. No gun had been fired but many had lost their lives by fever. At the end of August six had died and one hundred and twenty of the garrison were upon the sick list.

Thus the decisive action was fought while Brant was still at his village on the Grand River. If he had at heart the successful prosecution of the war, his inactivity at this critical time is inexplicable. He knew that Wayne was steadily advancing, yet he withheld his hand; he answered Simcoe that he was ready to move with his best

fighters, yet he remained at home. He wrote to McKee on January 14th, 1795, that he should have been present at the affair with Wayne had the nations, "agreeable to our ancient customs, informed me of his approaches." When he and Simcoe on September 27th arrived at Miami's Bay all reason for their presence had vanished. The Indians were discouraged and disunited, and Wayne had moved southward victorious.

In the spring and summer of 1794, while these men of action were manœuvring for an advantage in the far west, each party alive for a pretext to strike at the other, the diplomats of Philadelphia and Downing Street were quietly settling the difficulty in their own fashion. Jay landed at Falmouth on June 8th upon a pacific mission, and while Simcoe thought that war had been declared and was straining every nerve to place his province upon the defensive, Dundas was writing him from London that peace was secured and that nothing should be done to irritate the United States or provoke hostilities. These dispatches were received many days after all fear of a clash had past. If Washington's determination to maintain peace had been less firm, if his directions to Wayne had left any loophole for that impulsive officer to resent hostility, the nations might again have been involved in war. The motive may not have been higher than that which prompted the communication of the war office to the unfortunate

St. Clair, but it was sufficient: "We must by all means avoid involving the United States with Great Britain until events arise of the quality and magnitude as to impress the people of the United States and the world at large of the rank injustice and unfairness of their procedure. But a war with that power in the present state of affairs would retard our power, growth and happiness beyond almost the power of calculation." The restraint put upon Wayne was in part actuated by self-interest, and the opposition that he met so far from Detroit prevented him from pitching his tents under the walls of that fort.

The treaty that was concluded between Great Britain and the United States, which is usually called Jay's Treaty, settled the pending difficulties between the two countries, and in the summer of 1796 the posts were delivered to the United States. The American flag was hoisted over Fort Niagara on August 11th. About the same time the relieving party, assisted by the British with supplies of pork and flour, arrived at Michilimackinac, and the dominion of the west passed peaceably to the United States.

Dorchester, misled by alarming signs, had nearly brought disaster upon the country. For his inflammatory speech to the Indians and his directions to Simcoe to establish the post on the Miami, he was reproved by the government. His spirited defence of his action ends with his resignation. But

with these facts the present writing has but little concern. It is with Simcoe's position we must deal. He had been the chief actor in the scene and he apprehended that his would be the chief blame. In this he was wrong, but the fear drew from him a characteristic letter to the Duke of Portland. It follows with but slight abridgment as it sums up with vigour and almost vehemence the situation from his standpoint. It exhibits many of the essential points of his character, his intense spirit of partizanship, his impatience of restraint, his deep integrity, his devotion to duty which was in his mind inseparable from his religion, and from all that he held sacred in life.

"KINGSTON, *December 20th, 1794.*

"MY LORD DUKE,—As the manner in which the disputes relative to the barrier forts of this province shall be terminated must probably become the subject of discussion, I feel it indispensably necessary to state to your grace the orders of the commander-in-chief, Lord Dorchester, under which I acted and the principles which in the event of war would have guided my discretion. . . . It is necessary that I should premise to your grace what transpired on my arrival in this province. I found it to be the common language of all classes of people, military as well as civil, the well-informed as well as the ignorant, that any attempt of the United States to launch a single boat upon the lakes was to be repelled as hostility; it, therefore,

became incumbent upon me to obtain as soon as possible positive instructions upon so important a subject. The manner in which his Lordship had previously declined to give such instructions and his observations to me on January 27th that 'Mr. Hammond was best qualified to speak the language that will be approved by His Majesty's ministers,' when contrasted with the orders of February 19th following, to occupy the post at the Miami; and his Lordship's answer to the speech of the Seven Nations of Canada as deputies from part of the Indian nations, which speech was totally unknown to me: these circumstances, added to the total silence of His Majesty's ministers in respect to the application made by me to Major-General Clarke, and communicated by him in his letter to Mr. Dundas of February 2nd, 1793, left no justifiable doubt upon my mind but that war with the United States was inevitable, and that his Lordship's recent measures had originated under the instructions of His Majesty's confidential servants; I immediately, therefore, decided personally to proceed through the woods to Detroit, and to carry into execution his Lordship's directions upon the principles, which are explained by the letter, which I beg to transmit a copy of to your grace. Previously to the receipt of the commander-in-chief's orders, the same information from Lieutenant-Colonel England, to which his Lordship alludes in his instructions, having passed through my hands, I had sent Major of Bri-

gade Littlehales to Mr. Hammond to request that if 'he thought it was seasonable, he would interfere with the government of the United States to prevent any ill consequences that might follow Mr. Wayne's menaces and approach.' In particular I stated to Mr. Hammond: 'That I considered the settlement at the River aux Raisins as the boundary of the territory occupied by His Majesty's subjects, dependent on Detroit.' It, therefore, will not escape your grace that had Mr. Hammond acted upon my communication and had entered into an amicable discussion with the government of the United States, nearly at the same period that a post at the Miami Rapids, thirty miles in advance of the River aux Raisins, should have been occupied by His Majesty's troops, the conduct of the British government would have appeared in the most unfavourable light, and, personally, I should have been liable to the charge of extreme duplicity. . . . Your grace will be pleased to observe that Lord Dorchester, by his speaking of my 'local knowledge' of the country where it must have been known to his Lordship I never could have been, in *person*, seems to intimate the propriety of my going thither; upon this expression, I determined to waive the peculiar circumstances of my situation, and, as I conceived, the general impropriety of His Majesty's representative in this province passing its boundaries without the most urgent occasion. I more readily embraced this resolution, as I had not

an officer of experience, and in my confidence as deputy quartermaster-general, whose general superintendence, not confining him to local duties, might with propriety have been employed in a matter of such importance. Had I possessed such an officer, most certainly I should not have felt myself under the necessity of proceeding to the Miami's; nor in any case would I personally have done it, without further explanations with the commander-in-chief, had I not conceived a war to have been inevitable, that an opposition to Mr. Wayne's approaches had been determined upon by His Majesty's ministers, and that not a *moment* was to be neglected. I stated, therefore, to his Lordship, after a general sketch of such military defence as then appeared proper, that I should procure better information at Detroit, 'and, if it can be done with propriety, by personal investigation.'

"Fortunately for me, Lord Dorchester's speech to the Seven Nations having been made publick before Brigade-Major Littlehales reached Mr. Hammond, all communication between that gentleman and the government of the United States on the subject of my dispatch was prevented and superseded.

"On my arrival at Detroit, I found it necessary for the king's service that I should in person proceed to the Miami's; and subsequent events have in all respects justified the military principles I stated to Lord Dorchester in respect to the occupation of that post. Your grace will have the good-

ness to observe, upon the question of the commander-in-chief, 'whether by collecting all the force in your power to assemble, you would be in a condition to resist Wayne's attack should he attempt by force to take possession of the country?' that I answer, 'I think no force in this country could resist Wayne's *direct attack*.' Your grace will also observe that the commander-in-chief had expressed himself: 'It may not be amiss to consider what reinforcements you may draw from other posts within your command without exposing any to insult.' I need not call to your grace's attention the vague and indeterminate idea annexed to insult in a military acceptation of the term. Lord Dorchester has never yet by name mentioned to me the Indian nations as part of the force or powers. He knows the garrison of Oswego to be untenable, and that I consider Niagara alone to have been so extensive as to require all the force in this country to garrison it; that my opinions were that there were neither competent magazines nor military stores in the province. I also know that American militia are not fitted for garrison duty, and will not perform it; and that what I stated to the king's ministers before I left England I affirm to be true, 'that Upper Canada is not to be defended remaining within it,' that is, on a defensive plan. However, I beg respectfully to remark to your grace, after having stated these difficulties, that I did not shrink from the encounter, and,

therefore, I transmitted to his Lordship a series of operations that might possibly counteract Wayne's approach and possibly ruin his army. The details upon which the execution of these operations depended, though they could not at that moment be brought to bear, were instantly put into a train, and if war had been declared and it had then been advisable, I could have attempted its execution in June following. I transmitted this plan to Lord Dorchester to show that I was in *person* ready to undertake any enterprise, however hazardous, that might, in my judgment, conduce to the public service, and I beg here most respectfully to state to your grace, and I hope without impropriety, as this letter is meant for personal protection, that having embraced the military profession on principle, and having cultivated it on the most extensive theory and no uncommon practice, I have always been ready to apply my attainments to the king's service, measuring the value of command by its public utility and not by its extent, and being equally prepared for the smallest detachment or the largest army, leaving to the timid or the superficial to distinguish between the partizan and the general. I have now shown to your grace the *precipice* on which I stood, namely, my belief that it was the intention of His Majesty to *commence a war* with the United States, and that on a defensive plan Upper Canada must fall inevitably. I have stated the opinions I had thrown out to Lord Dorchester and the mo-

tives which led to them. Mr. Wayne approached the Miami's, at the same time the Pennsylvanians garrisoned Le Bœuf on the way to Presqu'isle. They were prevented by the Six Nations (and President Washington's consequent interference), from proceeding and occupying that important station. The occupation of Le Bœuf with one hundred men appeared to me a false step of the United States, and I prepared to take due advantage of it. At the time of Mr. Wayne's approach and summons of Major Campbell, I was collecting artillery, boats, and troops at Fort Erie, and had sent off such a detachment as I had means of transporting to secure Turtle Island. Had Mr. Wayne besieged the Miami Fort I had good hopes of relieving it, having well considered on the spot every arrangement necessary to effect that purpose ; had he been repulsed in an attempt to have assaulted the fort, the Indians would have regained their spirits, and, supported by the Canadian militia, who, it is probable, in numbers would then have joined the savages, and by two hundred at least of the king's troops, led by Major Campbell, I doubt not but they would have destroyed General Wayne's army, or at least disabled it for further operations. That officer seems to have been unprepared for meeting with so compact a fortress, and perhaps he was intimidated by the very permission to reconnoitre the post on all sides. His horse appearing after all further approach had been forbidden by Major Camp-

bell, he directed a cannon to be pointed ; the match was lighted and if the party had not been withdrawn, it would have been fired upon. So near was the war being commenced !

"Your grace will be pleased to advert to my situation if Mr. Wayne's ferocity had tempted him to have attempted an assault, and those consequences had followed that I have stated and which I firmly believed would have been the case.

"I should have known of the event of these hostilities before their commission could have possibly been communicated to the government of the United States. I should, I had, decided ; I was prepared and would have instantly surrounded Le Bœuf, and cut off Fort Franklin (not tenable). Le Bœuf, weakly garrisoned and scarcely fortified, could not have held out an hour against my cannon ; destroyed, there would not have been an Indian of the Six Nations but who would have taken up arms. My immediate operation would have been by small parties of *white* men, as the mildest mode of warfare, to have burnt every mill in the forks of the Susquehanna down to Northumberland or Sunbery, and on the Delaware to Minesink, which would have driven in those settlements ; and from every circumstance I have no reason to doubt but that in three weeks the whole of the Genesees, almost without resistance, would have been abandoned, the inhabitants taking refuge in the king's or the dominions of the States, and that by a post

on the Three Rivers Point, Sodus Harbour, and Oswego, I should have effectually for the season *protected* Upper Canada. I am persuaded there is not an Indian in North America but would have flown to arms, and by a right use of their terror rather than their action, I have *reason* to believe that Vermont, and it is possible that Kentucky would have declared themselves neutral.

"The British militia to a man, on the first appearance of hostilities, had avowed the most determined loyalty. They are as well calculated for offensive war as they would be impotent in garrisons. There are few families among them but what can relate some barbarous murder or atrocious requisitions which their relations have undergone from the rulers of the United States, however those transactions may have been concealed and glossed over in Europe. It is probable that, once called into action and movement, and successful, they would have been a most formidable assistance. Offensive operations, therefore, would have been impressed upon me by every consideration. I beg respectfully to call your grace's attention to what must have been my situation, if, under such circumstances, at any moment of these operations, I had received Mr. Dundas's letter No. 6, and that of your grace dated July 16th, 1794, the former and its *enclosures* stating that it was *not* the intention of His Majesty's government to commence hostilities with the United States on the subject of the posts, and the

latter recalling me in the midst of my operations, and of operations of such a nature and extent. But, my Lord Duke, I must beg your permission to state what (though I am not of that opinion) may be thought an *extreme case.*

"It would have been of public service, among such a people as those of the United States, who are governed by newspapers, to have published reasons for my operations, and probably it might have been politic to have limited their extent. In this case it is not impossible the people near Pittsburg, who perhaps have broken out into their late violences in hopes of Great Britain and the United States going to war, might have entered into some compact in which it would have been prudent to have acquiesced; supported as these people could easily be by Upper Canada and the Indians, they would present a most systematic and formidable opposition to the United States. I have no doubt that the president, Mr. Washington, *in person* must have marched to crush it. The first object of my heart would certainly be, with adequate force and on a just occasion, to meet this gentleman face to face; of course public duty and private inclination would have made me almost surmount impossibilities to have effected such a purpose, and on the supposition that Lord Dorchester should not call for the troops of Upper Canada, such an event might have been possible. At that moment the communications from your grace and Mr. Dundas must have come through the presi-

dent, whom I believe to be the most treacherous of mankind, and most hostile to the interests of Great Britain. In what a dreadful situation this circumstance must have placed me imagination can scarcely devise.

"I have, my Lord Duke, in an early part of my life, sacrificed much to my sense of obedience and essential subordination; at present, were it necessary, these principles must be doubly enforced on my mind. I have long held it as a maxim that in proportion as the general mass of mankind are relaxed in their habits of due subordination, the stricter and more exemplary will be the obedience of every true servant and soldier of his country to His Majesty's authority, and to whom *he* shall be pleased to delegate it, but in the situation I have represented, where enterprise must have been hazardous and inactivity desperate, your grace will see it might have been almost impossible for me *at once* to have stopped in my career, to have exemplified prompt obedience, and, acting most conscientiously in what I conceived the letter and spirit of my orders, to have preserved myself from calumny and ruin.

"The consequences of the orders which I have already executed must, as I conceive, prove most injurious to the king's interests. The giving up the posts at present will have the appearance (and appearance becomes reality in disgrace), as having *been extorted* by armed America, and acquiesced in

under the apparently unfortunate termination of the present European campaign. This the Federal party of the States will dilate upon as a proof of the wisdom of Mr. Jay's appointment, and the anti-Federalists as resulting from their opposition to British encroachments.

"The having brought this dormant question into discussion will, therefore, at the least, appear reprehensible in the eyes of those who may imagine their interests injured by its termination or whose aims are to impede His Majesty's government. These circumstances will renew in the minds of Englishmen the memory of the late American war, and above all the loss of honour in which it terminated, a loss that is now understood from its consequences and felt universally.

"I, therefore, in my very peculiar situation most respectfully repose on the *justice* of your grace and His Majesty's ministers, and hope and trust that should any public or parliamentary question arise upon the subject in which my name may be implicated, that it will be clearly understood that all my late transactions were in obedience to the orders of the commander-in-chief, Lord Dorchester.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, with utmost respect and deference, your grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

"J. G. Simcoe.

"His Grace the Duke of Portland, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State."

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCHES AND EDUCATION

"THE best security that all just government has for its existence is founded on the morality of the people, and that such morality has no true basis but when based upon religious principles, it is, therefore, I have always been extremely anxious, from political as well as more worthy motives, that the Church of England shall be essentially established in Upper Canada." Thus wrote Governor Simcoe to Henry Dundas on November 6th, 1792, after he had been for a few weeks at Niagara. The first clause in the loose sentence would pass without challenge, and the second, although vague and indeterminate, has elements of truth, but the deduction falls somewhat flat upon the mind raised to expectancy by the fine statement of the premises. It seems far-fetched and unreasonable to argue that because just government is founded on morality and morality upon religious principles that, therefore, the Church of England should be essentially established in Upper Canada. Simcoe could thus write, feelingly and with absolute sincerity, and could at the same time entertain vigorous, wise and prudent plans for the government of the province. The establishment of

the church was a scheme apart, founded upon preconceived ideas.

But in urging it Simcoe was instant in season and out of season. He wished to assimilate the government as nearly as possible to that of Great Britain, and as an established clergy was a component part of the one it must of necessity be imported into the other. He held the view that "every establishment of church and state that upholds a distinction of ranks, and lessens the undue weight of democratic influence must be indispensably introduced" into such a colony as Upper Canada. When we reflect that the Canada Act was largely influenced by Simcoe, we can trace his hand in the clauses which created the Clergy Reserves and made possible hereditary titles in the legislative council. This view, now that we have passed the period of agitation and strife which it occasioned, seems odd and perverse, but Simcoe drew from the facts of the American Revolution the conclusion that too great a freedom in the matter of forms and institutions had brought about that dire and lamentable result. In his government, church and state were to go hand-in-hand; the people were to fear their rulers, the rulers were to be just and considerate to the people.

Reviewing the elements of the population: Germans of Lutheran descent, Moravians, Calvinists, Tunkers, Methodists, the blood of Puritan New

England, one wonders how a man of Simcoe's penetration could think his established fold adaptable to such motley and contentious factions. But, to tell the truth, Simcoe was no statesman, not even a shrewd politician; he was a soldier first, last and always, with a military love of fixed orders and implicit faith in duty as the one law needful. Now it was to be the glory of Upper Canada that freedom in its integrity, both political and religious, should there abide, and that bureaucracy, militarism, and the rule of a governor with an eye single for sedition and political heresy should be cast forth. The influence of Simcoe, and those who followed in his pathway, postponed only for a little the responsible government and religious freedom that was potential in the disposition and desire of the people.

When Simcoe reached Niagara in the autumn of 1792, there were three clergymen of the Church of England in Upper Canada. The first to arrive was the Rev. John Stuart. He was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1730. His father was a Presbyterian, but the son decided to join the Church of England, and was ordained in England in 1770. For seven years he was missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. During the war he was subjected to injustice and indignity at the hands of the rebels. His house was plundered and his church turned into a stable. In 1780 he made up his mind to emigrate to Canada, and he arrived with his family

at St. Johns, Que., on October 9th, 1781. After a sojourn in Montreal, where he conducted a successful day school, he moved to Cataraqui, as Kingston was then called, in 1786. Here he established himself, ministering to the Loyalists, refugees like himself, and to the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté, to whom he could preach in their own language. The next to arrive, in August, 1797, was the Rev. John Langhorn, who laboured in Ernestown and Fredericksburgh. He was paid £150 a year by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. To Niagara the Rev. Robert Addison had been sent by the society just mentioned. He arrived there in the autumn of 1792, shortly before the governor.

Over these scattered pastors it was Simcoe's desire to have a bishop appointed. Before he had left England he had urged the importance of the action, and had offered to give up £500 of his own salary annually if the consideration of cost was to prevent the creation of the new see. His request was at last met, and the first anglican bishop of Canada, the Rev. Jacob Mountain, arrived in Quebec on November 1st, 1793. His jurisdiction extended over both provinces, and it was not until the summer of 1794 that he visited Upper Canada, and was welcomed by the governor at Niagara on August 9th. He found that there was but one Lutheran chapel and one or two Presbyterian churches between Montreal and Kingston. At the latter place he found a " small but decent church," and in the Bay

of Quinté district there were three or four log huts wherein at various points Mr. Langhorn met his parishioners. At Niagara there was no church; the services were held sometimes in the chamber of the legislative council, and other times at Freemasons' Hall, which is described as a house of public entertainment.

Roving through the country, the zealous bishop found a few itinerant and mendicant Methodists, "a set of ignorant enthusiasts, whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding, to corrupt the morals, to relax the nerves of industry, and dissolve the bands of society." The population he found to be largely composed of dissenters, but he was of the opinion that if a proper number of clergymen were at once sent into the country, these would rapidly give their adherence and thus would the province be saved to the church. The outcome of his earnest representations was that £500 was set apart annually for the building of churches, which was expended during the following years at Cornwall, York, and Niagara. But the pitiful stipends of the clergy were not materially increased; the home government pointed out that "the act respecting rectories included tithes, so that no additional grant was needed," and trusted that a small salary from government and an allowance from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would be sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of the incumbents. That the incum-

bents were comfortable is open to doubt, living as they did in a country thinly populated by people as yet struggling for a bare existence, where even the necessaries of life were both scarce and expensive. But upon their foundation of self-denial and zeal was based the great power of the Church of England in Canada. To weld the connection between church and state Bishop Mountain was given a seat in the legislative council on May 29th, 1794, and was appointed an executive councillor on January 25th, 1796.

While Simcoe was thus looking forward to the establishment of the Church of England in Upper Canada, there were forces at work which in the end rendered his schemes fruitless. There was the deep spring of dissent in the hearts of the people which was by and by to swell into a torrent, not to be dammed or bridged; and there was everywhere, growing more and more powerful, the influence of the ministers and preachers who lived the pioneer life and guided their small flocks in the wilderness. Whenever the governor became officially aware of the presence of these sectaries, and the persons who ministered to them, he treated them with lofty scorn. After his customary fashion he faced their position with petulance and represented their motives as base and unworthy, themselves as disloyal and contumacious.

During the session of 1796 a petition was presented from the eastern district asking for the re-

peal of the Marriage Act. It was signed by all the magistrates in the eastern district and by many of the inhabitants. If the views therein expressed had been set forth in the most abject manner they would not have received favour with the governor, but instead of a proper humility pervading the document, it was composed in a manner which irritated him. There was something jaunty and in effect flippant in the phrases. It was couched in argumentative terms, and to his mind there was no basis of argument. It was marked with honest yet homely similes, out of place when dealing with so grave a matter. But above all it showed republican tendencies. The authorship was in doubt, but it was alleged that it had been indited by one Bethune, a Presbyterian minister, who, while writing such reprehensible stuff, was actually in receipt of the king's bounty to the extent of £50 a year. It was also hinted that the document proceeded from Montreal and dangerous men there who had the ruin of the country at heart. This monstrous petition only asked the privilege that now is considered everywhere as the plainest right—that ministers of every denomination should be permitted legally to solemnize marriage. Simcoe, a most stubborn son of the church, stamped upon the request, and it took years of agitation upon one side and gradual broadening of principles upon the other before 1830 saw the repeal of the burdensome Act. In conversation "he thought it proper to say that he looked

upon the petition as the product of a wicked head and a most disloyal heart"; he considered it an open attack upon the national church, and opined that the next attempt would be upon the sevenths set apart for the established clergy. Indeed, it was not long before the Clergy Reserves began to receive attention from the same quarter.

While Simcoe was trying thus to hedge the infant church from harm, the obscure sectaries were taking root, watered and pruned and nourished by the pioneer exhorters—Methodists and others, who roved throughout the province and preached everywhere, after their own forms and in their own manner, the gospel of Jesus Christ. These zealots, their personality and their methods, are one of the most picturesque features in the country where all men had taken on some quality of native ruggedness, power and simplicity from the earth, very near to which they lived and reared their young. Like Orson, who was nourished by bears, the people had been habituated to the wilderness. They required for their religious awakening and the continuance of their spiritual life some power full of elemental force and vital energy. As their needs were so were they filled.

The itinerants came and set up their altars wherever a willing human heart could be found, beneath the primeval maples, between the fire-blackened stumps of the new clearing, or under the rude scoop-roof of the first log shanty. They

travelled about sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, roughly garbed, their knapsacks filled with a little dried venison and hard bread, sleeping in the woods, often fighting sleep when the snow lay thick on the ground, keeping at a distance a frosty death by hymns and homilies shouted to the glory of God in the keen air. Their stipends were almost naught, their parish coterminous with the trails of the savages or the slash roads of the settlers, their license to preach contained in one inspiring sentence in a little leather-covered book, their churches and rectories wherever under the sky might be found human hearts to reach and native hospitality. They met the opposition which they frequently encountered each in his own way, but no threats of hanging or stripes could push them from their appointed path. Sometimes the force was met by force, and the bully felt the power of the evangelist in the stroke of a fist hard as granite, launched with unerring swiftness; sometimes his ribs were crushed in an ursine grasp and he felt himself held high and hurled beyond the circle of the camp-fire; sometimes he was appealed to in a way that won all the manliness in his heart, and caused him to choke with shame at a merited disgrace. As settlements increased their circuits became smaller, their people reared churches and the hardness of their lives was softened, but their zeal was unquenchable. Fanatics they undoubtedly were, yet they were cast as salt into the society of that

day to preserve it on the one hand from ecclesiastical formalism, and upon the other from the corruption of the lawless and ignorant.

The first Presbyterian minister to reach Upper Canada was the Rev. John Bethune. Like his contemporary, Mr. Stuart, he had suffered for the royal cause in North Carolina, where he was the chaplain of the loyal militia. During the war he was captured and imprisoned, lost whatever he had gained in the colony, and after peace was declared he left for the country where he could express his attachment for the king's government without fear of insult or vengeance. He arrived in Montreal in 1786, and gathered about him the adherents of his faith. After the short sojourn of a year he left the city for the new settlements on the St. Lawrence, which contained many Scottish Presbyterians. Here he carried on a successful work for many years. He was the only minister not belonging to the Established Church who received any financial aid from the government. From this source he had an annual stipend of £50, paid him by Governor Simcoe at the instance of Lord Dorchester. He it was who in a sturdy way agitated for the repeal of the Marriage Act, and he was probably the author of the petition against it which so incensed the governor. His opposition to the Act was, however, legal, and did not include the overt course adopted by the Rev. Robert Dunn, of Newark, who took upon himself to perform marriages in contravention of

the Act. This brought down upon him the power of the government, and he was duly prosecuted. There is no record of the result, whether he was punished or not, or whether those he married complied with the law or braved the world with the insufficient blessing of Robert Dunn. He was the second comer to the Niagara district; he arrived in 1784 from Scotland, and quickly reared a church with the help of all denominations about Niagara, a fact which Simcoe deplored as it delayed the erection of a building for the Church of England. Mr. Dunn did not long maintain his connection, as he lost faith in the doctrines of the church. He entered business and was lost in the wreck of the *Speedy* on Lake Ontario. His forerunner had been the Rev. Jabez Collver, who came to the county of Norfolk in 1783, and took up land there, one thousand acres, it is said, granted by the government, which appears at least doubtful. He laboured long and zealously in the district, having a stronger faith than his contemporary, Mr. Dunn.

Missionaries of the Church of Rome had visited the Indians and ministered spiritually to them for many years before the conquest. At the time of the division of the province they were labouring at Detroit amongst the western tribes, and the first resident priest in Upper Canada was the Rev. Mr. McDonnell, who came to the county of Glengarry, where were settled a number of Scottish adherents to the Roman Catholic faith. The government wel-

comed Mr. McDonnell, and showed him the greatest courtesy upon his arrival. De la Rochefoucauld observes in the governor a preference for the Roman Catholic clergy as instructors for the Indians. The duke ascribes it to the urgency of Simcoe in fostering monarchical principles. "The policy of General Simcoe," he says, "inclines him to encourage a religion, the ministers of which are interested in a connection with the authority of thrones, and who, therefore, never lose sight of the principle to preserve and propagate arbitrary power."

While Simcoe sought by all the means in his power to provide for the spiritual needs of his growing nation of pioneers, he also gave great attention to the means of education, which were deficient. In January, 1791, he wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, the president of the Royal Society: "In a literary way I should be glad to lay the foundation stone of some society that I trust might hereafter conduce to the extension of science. Schools have been shamefully neglected—a college of a higher class would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of principle and manners that would be of infinite support to government." The first settlers had for some years been without schools, whatever instruction had been given was by the parents to their children in the intervals of work.

The first school in the province was opened by the Rev. Dr. Stuart at Cataraqui in 1786, and in the years between that date and Governor Simcoe's ar-

rival several other schools were established. There was one at Fredericksburgh, taught by Mr. Johnathan Clarke, in 1786, and two years later he opened one at Matilda. At Hay Bay Mr. Lyons had gathered a few scholars around him in 1789, and a Baptist deacon, Trayes by name, had also begun to teach at Port Rowan. At Napanee Mr. D. A. Atkins opened his school in 1791, and the Rev. Robert Addison, probably the best equipped teacher in the province settled at Niagara in 1792, and supplied that growing town with educational advantages. Two years later the Rev. Mr. Burns, a Presbyterian, opened another school at Niagara, and in 1797 Mr. Cockrel established a night school at the same place, which he soon handed over to the Rev. Mr. Arthur, and himself removed to Ancaster to open still another school.

From the nature of things, there could be no uniformity in the tuition offered at these schools. The masters, when they were not ministers of the Church of England, may have had but an elementary training. The scholars were not numerous, but gave evidence of zeal by tramping miles through the bush and facing the stress of weather. Winter was the studious season in the province, and many a man who rose to prominence, fought his life battles nobly and went to his fathers, toiled at his tasks by day over the rough wooden desks in the log school-house and at night by the light of the fire that roared in the rubble chimney. Books were

scarce; those for sale in the general stores of the period were principally spelling books and primers; arithmetics were few and correspondingly precious. A tattered copy or two of Dilworth's spelling book and of the New Testament comprised the equipment of many of these schools. The Rev. Mr. Arthur announced upon opening his night school that "if any number of boys offer, and books can be procured, a Latin class will be commenced immediately."

From Kingston eastward and from Niagara westward to the boundaries of the province the people were without schools during the years of Simcoe's governorship. He desired the establishment of a system of education for the same reason as the establishment of the church—that the province might be kept loyal upon religious principles, and that government, both of church and state, might be conformable in all things to the British Constitution. He, therefore, warmly urged the great need for provision for higher education, for the establishment of a university in the capital city of the province. In this capital he imagined a society gathered together that would form a bulwark against the inroads of republicanism and democratic tendencies. There would dwell the governor, the bishop, the judges, the officers of the Houses and of the civil establishment, the officers of the garrison, and thither would come the legislators to be affected by this body of loyal opinion which

they would carry to the four corners of the province. There would be trained the sons of the best families for the church and the higher offices of the government, and no temptation would be offered them to wander to the American seats of learning where their morals would become corrupted and their loyalty overthrown. The church recruited from such a vigorous source would be more successful, he thought, than when manned by English parsons who, "habituated to a greater degree of refinement and culture," could not understand nor influence their parishioners.

The definite plan that Simcoe laid before the secretary of state was moderate. He asked for £1,000 per annum for the purposes of education. Of this amount £100 were to go towards the maintenance of each of two grammar schools at Kingston and Niagara, and the remainder was to be devoted to the university. He wished the professors, with the exception of the medical professor, to be clergymen of the Church of England. The home government did not adopt the plan, and Dundas wrote that he thought "the schools will be sufficient for some time." Simcoe replied that the measures he had proposed were important for the welfare of the country, and would chiefly contribute to an intimate union with Great Britain. He then allowed the subject to drop, so far as extraneous aid was concerned, and gave what attention he could to the small beginnings of educa-

tion within the province. But when his arm was strengthened by the appointment of a bishop he again turned his attention to the foundation of a university, but again without result. Almost the last word penned by Simcoe in Upper Canada refers to this endowment "from which, more than any other source or circumstance whatever, a grateful attachment to His Majesty, morality, and religion will be fostered and take root throughout the whole province."

One unexpected result of the governor's desire to improve the schools was the coming of a man who filled for many years the public eye of Upper Canada, so strong was his character and so great his influence. Dr. Strachan, the first bishop of Toronto, was not a contemporary of Simcoe's in the province. His advent must have been the outcome of a series of misunderstandings. Dr. Strachan himself believed that the governor, wishing to obtain "a gentleman from Scotland to organize and take charge" of the proposed university, placed the negotations in the hands of Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Hamilton. They "applied to friends in St. Andrews, who offered the appointment first to Mr. Duncan and then to Mr. Chalmers but both declined." Mr. Strachan accepted the proposed appointment, and arrived at Kingston, after a tedious voyage, on December 31st, 1799, only to find the expected position a myth. It is a pointed illustration of the extreme slowness of communication in

those days that, although General Simcoe had been away from Canada for three years, Mr. Strachan left St. Andrews in the expectation of still finding him in the country.

As this statement is autobiographical, and was, therefore, held as truth by Dr. Strachan himself, it has been printed constantly without comment. In the very nature of things it appears incorrect. There never was a time when Simcoe felt that the foundation of a university was within sight. In February, 1796, the year of his departure, he wrote to Bishop Mountain "I have no idea that a university will be established, though I am daily confirmed in its necessity." If the time had come to arrange for a principal he would have again urged, as he did in April, 1795, that the officers of the institution should be Englishmen and clergymen of the Church of England. Mr. Strachan was a Scotsman and a Presbyterian. There was not even a minor vacancy, as the school at Kingston was taught by the Rev. John Stuart. The obscurity cannot be cleared, yet in the event no more propitious choice than this Scottish Presbyterian lad could have been made by Simcoe to further his darling plans regarding the mother church. He developed into the prelate whom the governor would have upheld loyally in his own sphere.

Amongst the items which Simcoe sketched in his early memorandum of August 12th, 1791, as desirable for the furtherance of good government

in the colony, the tenth was, "a printer, who might also be postmaster." The first printer in Upper Canada was Louis Roy, who set up his press at Niagara some time during the winter of 1792-3. The first copy of his paper, *The Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle*, was issued on April 13th, 1793. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the printed copy of the governor's speeches at the opening and closing of the first session of parliament is synchronous with the event. Was there a printing press in Niagara at that time? The date of the issue of the first copy of the *Upper Canada Gazette* gives an affirmative reply to this question. In order to print a copy of the paper early in April the heavy press and founts of type must have been transported from Montreal before the close of navigation in the summer or autumn of 1792. No transportation of heavy articles was undertaken in winter until years after that date. It may be concluded that the printer and the printing plant arrived some time before the session of 1792, and that the first printed document issued from the press in Upper Canada was the aforesaid copy of Simcoe's speeches. This assertion is supported by the wording of a letter written by Simcoe on July 4th, 1793, in which he says that Mr. Roy "has long been employed as king's printer." He would hardly have used these words if the service had covered but three or four months.

The proclamations issued by the governor in

July, 1792, when he took up the government, were printed by Fleury Mesplet, of Montreal, who submitted his accounts for the work on October 5th, 1793. He was the printer who had been arrested by Haldimand's orders for sowing strife and discord in the province. He is described as a printer sent by congress, in 1774, to publish and disperse seditious literature. At the time of which I write his press was loyally occupied in multiplying the proclamations of the government. Simcoe, maybe, had his former escapade in mind when he roughly checked his assumption of the dignity of king's printer for Upper Canada. That officer was Louis Roy, who received a salary and free rations with accommodations for himself and his paraphernalia. His service does not appear to have been entirely satisfactory as he had to be censured for delay in printing the statutes of the first parliament. The delay he ascribed to sickness; and on December 5th, 1793, it was stated that the work would then be completed. It is probable that there was a change in the office during the next summer, and Mr. Roy was replaced by Mr. G. Tiffany.

The *Upper Canada Gazette* was a folio of fifteen by nine and a half inches. It was printed upon good stout paper, obtained in part from Albany until the governor ascertained the fact, when the printer was reprimanded for using paper from the United States and cautioned not to do so again. The price of a subscription to the paper was three

dollars per annum, and advertisements not exceeding twelve lines were to be paid for at the rate of four shillings Quebec currency.

The governor took an intimate interest in everything in the province, and the printer did not escape his notice. He had occasion to censure him for certain libellous articles and schooled him in the character that his paper should assume. He desired him to establish for the *Gazette* a character that should be founded on truth; he wished him to print all news, and to give the source from which his information was obtained, and added naïvely, print such news "preferably as is favourable to the British government if it appears true." In February, 1796, Mr. Tiffany had to be checked in a plan that seemed extravagant to the governor's mind. He wished to publish a monthly magazine! But the printing of the provincial statutes was far in arrears and Simcoe thought it of greater importance that these should be printed and promulgated. He was advised to print in the *Gazette* articles upon agricultural subjects, and was told that the gentlemen of the government at Niagara would assist him in making proper selections. It was pointed out to him that he had a salary as printer principally for printing the *Gazette* regularly, and that he should do so. In 1799 the *Gazette* was removed to York, and Mr. Tiffany's connection with it ceased; he remained in Niagara and began to publish the *Constellation*, a paper that had but a short life.

Simcoe was not able to carry out his project for establishing a public library in the province, and books were rare and correspondingly precious. The Rev. Mr. Addison had a private library that is said to be in part preserved in the rectory of St. Mark's, Niagara. The governor would not consent to be separated wholly from books, and likely brought copies of his favourite authors with him. On April 25th, 1793, he made a present of a copy of "Yonge on Agriculture" and other books dealing with the subject, together with ten guineas as a premium, to the Agricultural Society of Upper Canada. These books were evidently from his own library. But while the houses of the government may have been supplied with books, the cabins of the settlers were almost destitute of them. Perhaps a well-worn copy of the Bible had escaped many perils to find at last a resting-place in the first shelter at Niagara or upon the shores of the Bay of Quinté. This, with the Book of Common Prayer, would often form the library of the Loyalist, sometimes augmented by a copy of Elliot's "Medical Pocket Book," Stackhouse's "History of the Bible," or "Ricketson on Health," books that have served their day and found the limbo of printed pages. The first shops retailed only necessaries, and the stock of books was limited to almanacs, spelling books, primers, Bibles and Testaments.

CHAPTER X

A SILVAN COURT

WHEN the *Triton* sailed away from Weymouth in the autumn of 1791, she bore with her the beginnings of the viceregal court for Upper Canada. The British government had been generous in its provision for officers of the new province. The first estimate for the civil list was as follows:—

Lieutenant-governor, £2,000; chief-justice, £1,000; attorney-general, £300; solicitor-general, £100; two judges of the common pleas, each £500 = £1,000; clerk of the Crown and pleas, £100; two sheriffs, each £100 = £200; secretary of the province and registrar, £300; clerk of the council, £100; surveyor of lands (fees); receiver-general, £200; five executive councillors, £500; naval officer, £100. Total: £5,900.

The governor's aides-de-camp were Major Littlehales and Lieutenant Talbot, who drew their pay as officers of the regular army. Captain Stevenson had accompanied the party as a personal friend of the governor to supervise the household during his absence. Major Littlehales was a most popular secretary; he conducted the whole of the governor's official correspondence with great ability. De la

Rochefoucauld speaks of his politeness, prudence, and judgment, and states that he enjoyed universal confidence and respect. He remained with the governor during the whole term of his residence in Canada. Lieutenant Talbot, a more vivid and interesting figure to Canadians, left to rejoin his regiment in Ireland on June 21st, 1794, on account of his promotion. But some years later he was to return to Canada to found a permanent settlement, give his name to a locality, and fill the province with traditions.

William Osgoode was the first chief-justice; he served until the summer of 1794, when he was appointed chief-justice of Lower Canada. The important position remained vacant until John Elmsley was appointed on January 1st, 1796. The attorney-general was John White. The clerk of the council was John Small. The clerk of the Crown and pleas was Edward Burns. The first surveyor was Holland. Russell was receiver-general; he also acted as puisne judge while the office of chief-justice was vacant. William Jarvis was the secretary of the province; he belonged to a Loyalist family of Connecticut, and was born at Stamford in 1756; he was for twenty-five years connected with Upper Canadian affairs, and died at York in 1817. The naval officer was Francis Costa. Charles Goddard was agent for the government. William Dummer Powell was judge of the common pleas.

Gradually upon the arrival of these officers at

Niagara a genial society grew up, of which the governor's wife was the centre. She was gentle, amiable, and attractive. To her pencil and brush we owe the many sketches that show us landscapes, now familiar under a changed condition and aspect, as they were before civilization had transformed them. When Simcoe arrived the family consisted of one son, Frank, but a daughter was born during their sojourn in the country. Frank was the pet of the settlement. He was named by the Indians "Tioga"—the swift—and the governor dressed him in deerskin on state occasions to please the savage allies. He grew up and adopted his father's profession. It led him to the Peninsular War, and to the town of Badajoz. On the night of April 6th he was engaged with the force that stormed the defences, and in the morning his dead body lay under a heap of the slain in one of the dreadful breaches of the wall.

The social opportunities of the new seat of government were not extensive. The number of private houses in which entertainment could be offered was small. The governor's residence, that of Colonel Smith of the 5th Regiment, and Mr. Hamilton's house at Queenston were the largest in or near Niagara. De la Rochefoucauld thus describes Colonel Smith's residence: "It consists of joiner's work, but is constructed, embellished, and painted in the best style; the yard, garden and court are surrounded with railings, made and painted as ele-

gantly as they could be in England. His large garden has the appearance of a French kitchen-garden, kept in good order."

But the dependence upon a small circle for the pleasures of society made the assemblies more intimate; they were the reunions of a large and interdependent family rather than formal gatherings. The wife of any true Loyalist might find her place at the governor's entertainments with a warm welcome, and feel at home with the governor's wife. Simcoe did not depend upon his salary of two thousand pounds to maintain fittingly the dignity of his position. He drew largely upon his private fortune to keep the style and manner of his *menage* to the standard of viceroyalty. The cost of living was excessive, and all the officials of that day complained that they could not live decently upon the salaries paid them by government, which ranged from the £1,000 of the chief-justice to the £100 of the solicitor-general.

Simcoe considered it one part of his duty to do all that lay in his power to render as light as possible all the disabilities and hardships that life in the new country presented. This condescension on the part of the governor was met by graceful acknowledgments on the part of the people. Presents of game, furs, and fruits, and occasionally gifts of greater importance, flowed into Navy Hall. At a time when horses were the richest possession in Upper Canada, Richard Duncan, lieutenant of the

county of Dundas, presented Mrs. Simcoe with a horse called "Jack," that bore her to and fro over the roads and bridle-paths of the peninsula.

The very contrasts ever present in the population of early Niagara gave an interest to life that went far to compensate for the slowness of its movement. It was, in effect at least, a slave-holding community and a garrison town; its little street and square were trod by wild Indians, negroes, British officers, half-breeds, *voyageurs*, adventurers, spies, and *grandes dames*. Society was democratic, and in the midst of it was the great aristocrat, Simcoe, endeavouring to run this fluid society into a mould of his own fashioning. The manners and customs of the English were those of their own country and time transplanted to new ground. Perhaps with the feelings of comradeship and altruism intensified came also a deepening of those other feelings of envy, jealousy, and hatred upon which tragedies are founded. In small communities where the official and military class predominates, these passions are of quick growth and flourish luxuriantly. Duels were not uncommon. It was only a few years after Simcoe's departure that two of his civil officers met on the field at York. John Small, the clerk of the council, challenged the attorney-general, John White, to clear his wife's character. They met on January 2nd, 1800, and White was carried off the field dangerously wounded. Two days after he died.

The scarcity of servants must have made housekeeping a difficult task. De la Rochefoucauld states: "they, who are brought hither from England, either demand lands or emigrate into the United States. All persons belonging to the army employ soldiers in their stead. By the English regulations every officer is allowed one soldier, to whom he pays one shilling a week; and this privilege is extended in proportion as the officers have need of a greater number of people. The governor, who is also colonel of a regiment of Queen's Rangers stationed in the province, is attended in his house and and at dinner merely by privates of this regiment, who also take care of his horses. He has not been able to keep one of the men servants he brought with him from England."

Restricted as was this life, it yet had its excitements, its interests, and its diversions; the novelty of the situation enhanced the smallest occurrences. The little court was the heart of the country, and through it flowed all the life of the people with its hopes, fears, successes, and failures. Navy Hall, the Canvas House at York, or the quarters at Kingston were more in the life of the province than Government House can ever be again. Not only was the residence of the governor the social centre of the country, it was the seat of power, favour, and honour, and at the same time a home where a welcome existed for any loyal settler who might stray thither from the confines of the province.

THE DUKE OF KENT'S VISIT

Prince Edward, the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, was Governor Simcoe's first and most distinguished guest at Navy Hall. He was stationed at Quebec with his regiment, the 7th Fusiliers. He desired to visit Niagara Falls, and it is probable that during Simcoe's lengthy stay at Quebec the journey was arranged. The repairs to Navy Hall could hardly have been completed when the prince arrived. He left Quebec on Saturday, August 12th, 1792. Sir Alured Clarke wrote to Simcoe on the seventh of that month that the prince would be accompanied by "a larger suite than I wish attended him from an apprehension that it must occasion some embarrassment." Simcoe began early in August to arrange a fitting reception for his royal visitor. A barge was prepared at Kingston, decorated with flags, newly painted, and covered with an awning. Mr. Peter Clark was detailed to command the craft and meet the prince at Oswegatchie, as far below Kingston as the rapids would permit. From this point he was rowed to Kingston, where he embarked on the armed schooner *Onondaga* and sailed for Niagara. Here he arrived on August 21st, welcomed by a royal salute from the guns of Fort Niagara. On the twenty-third, at half-past six in the morning, he reviewed the 5th Regiment. He was evidently pleased with the corps, for he expressed the desire to have some of the men drafted into his own regiment, the 7th Fusiliers. A parade of all the men above five feet

nine inches was ordered, they were cautioned to be "perfectly clean," and were informed that "no one was expected to join but by his own choice and acquiescence." On the same day the prince proceeded on his way to the falls. At that time there was no settlement at the cataract; the shores were lined with unbroken forest. On the Upper Canada side there was one mean inn, and the paths and descents to the points from which the falls could be seen were so infrequently used as to be dangerous. But the loneliness added to the grandeur, and the difficulties to be overcome gave a tang of adventure to the visit. Upon his return the prince dined at Mr. Hamilton's at Queenston. During his short stay the resources of the province were taxed to provide entertainment. The Mohawks, in paint and feathers, gave their national war-dance. The prince was presented with wampum and created a chief above all other chiefs. Upon August 26th he sailed again for Kingston on the *Onondaga*, while the regiments stood at arms and the guns fired the salute.

The next guests of importance entertained by the governor were the American commissioners to the Indians. Beverley Randolph and Timothy Pickering arrived on May 17th, 1793, General Lincoln on the twenty-eighth of the same month, and they remained until early in July. General Lincoln during his sojourn kept a diary which gives an intimate account of the visit. It enables us to understand

the straits to which the *menage* must have been put to entertain three such distinguished visitors.

May 25th.—"Immediately on my arrival at Niagara Governor Simcoe sent for me. The other commissioners were with him; he showed me my room. We remained with him a number of days, but knowing that we occupied a large proportion of his house, and that Mrs. Simcoe was absent and so probably on our account, we contemplated a removal and of encamping at the landing, six miles from this place. But when the governor was informed of our intention he barred a removal. His politeness and hospitality, of which he has a large share, prevented our executing the designs we had formed."

June 24th.—"The king's birthday. At eleven o'clock the governor had a levee at his house, at which the officers of government, the members of the legislature, the officers of the army, and a number of strangers attended. After some time the governor came in, preceded by two of his family. He walked up to the head of the hall and began a conversation with those standing in that part of the hall, and went around to the whole, and I believe spoke with every person present. This was soon over, and we all retired. At one o'clock there was firing from the troops, the battery, and from the ship in the harbour. In the evening there was quite a splendid ball, about twenty well-dressed handsome ladies and about three times that number of gentle-

men present. They danced from seven o'clock until eleven. Supper was then announced, where we found everything good and in pretty taste. The music and dancing were good, and everything was conducted with propriety. What excited the best feelings of my heart was the ease and affection with which the ladies met each other, although there were a number present whose mothers sprang from the aborigines of the country. They appeared as well dressed as the company in general, and intermixed with them in a manner which evinced at once the dignity of their own minds and the good sense of others. These ladies possessed great ingenuity and industry and have great merit, for the education which they have acquired is owing principally to their own industry, as their father, Sir William Johnson, was dead, and the mother retained the dress and manners of her tribe. Governor Simcoe is exceedingly attentive in these public assemblies, and makes it his study to reconcile the inhabitants, who have tasted the pleasures of society, to their present situation in an infant province. He intends the next winter to have concerts and assemblies very frequently. Hereby he at once evinces a regard to the happiness of the people and his knowledge of the world; for while the people are allured to become settlers in this country from the richness of the soil and the clemency of the seasons, it is important to make their situation as flattering as possible."

THE DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

The next visitor of distinction that Navy Hall sheltered was the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. He had fled from France to escape the bloodthirstiness of Robespierre. His estates had been confiscated, and he wandered about America homeless and with a heart sick for home. His travels are still entertaining, and they give the best available contemporaneous account of early Upper Canada. The duke was an acute observer and a lively writer. His book is not entirely free from errors into which his feelings led him, but it is generally composed in great good humour, and his statistics are valuable and may be relied upon. Simcoe had been apprised by Hammond that the duke was to visit the country, and that he had a mind to proceed through Upper Canada to Quebec. But while making him welcome, the governor could not allow him to proceed without a permit from Lord Dorchester. While waiting for this, de la Rochefoucauld spent his time pleasantly enough in social intercourse with his hosts, of whom he draws an engaging picture. Simcoe he describes as "simple, plain and obliging. He lives in a noble and hospitable manner without pride; his mind is enlightened, his character mild and obliging." Mrs. Simcoe, he says, "is bashful and speaks little, but she is a woman of sense, handsome and amiable, and fulfils all the duties of a mother and a wife with the most scrupulous exactness. The performance of the latter she carries so far as to act the part of

a private secretary to her husband. Her talents for drawing, the practice of which she confines to maps and plans, enables her to be extremely useful to the governor." By some means unknown to the sex in this day he discovered her age and set it down in his book as thirty-six. The familiar tone of these and other remarks was not relished by Simcoe, who thought that they cast reflections upon the dignity of his position and his humanity in war. In a pamphlet printed at Exeter, probably in 1799, he rebuts the latter charge in words tending to scathe the noble marquis: "If the United States had attempted to over-run Upper Canada I should have defended myself by such measures as English generals have been accustomed to, and not fought for the morality of war, in the suspicious data of the insidious economist: my humanity, I trust, is founded on the religion of my country, and not on the hypocritical possessions of a puny philosophy."

In the autumn of 1794 the governor received a visit from Alexander Mackenzie, the explorer who had taken during the spring and summer of the previous year his adventurous trip overland to the Pacific. He had left a post on the Peace River on May 9th, 1793, and, after an arduous trip, had succeeded in crossing the height of land dividing the watershed. After proceeding for some days down the waters that flowed south, he had retraced his course, and had for the space of fifteen days travelled through a wilderness where no white man

had ever trod, and had been greeted at the end by a view of the ocean glittering around the rocky islands that towered off the coast. He had arrived again at his Peace River post on August 24th, 1793. Simcoe was no doubt deeply interested in this tale of daring and intrepidity. He says in one of his dispatches that Mackenzie seemed to be as intelligent as he was adventurous. As usual, Simcoe was alive to the advantages of the water routes, the means of communication and the trade possibilities opened up by such a voyage of discovery. The explorer sketched for him the advantages that would accrue from the establishment of two trading-posts on the Pacific coast, and mentioned the possibility of diverting, with advantage, the trade of the far north to the western ocean. It was thought that the East India Company should be favourable to the development of the fur trade, and that a national advantage would follow from the retention in the country of a large amount of silver that was then being sent to China. Mackenzie's experience had, however, taught him that the Indians of the coast must be conciliated, not coerced, as they too often had been, and he pointed out that a solid advantage from the commerce could not arise unless there was a reconcilement of rival claims and a blending of all scattered effort in one common interest.

While Simcoe was burdened with state cares, he found time to be interested in many matters that

in our day would be considered unworthy the attention of the governor. He kept an ear attentive for all gossip or idle talk of sedition and disloyalty, and many a man and officer who had felt secure in his use of careless words was surprised to receive caution that a repetition would lead to his banishment or imprisonment. Spies had to be guarded against, and suspicious persons were detained and put across the lines. A French priest called Le Du gave him trouble in the summer of 1794, at a time when it was undesirable that any information as to the preparations of the country for war should become known. But he was apprehended, detained and finally sent into the country to which by sympathy he belonged.

Sometimes Simcoe had to adjust disputes between his clergy and their parishioners, and once the Rev. J. Burk, of Grand River, came under his censure for refusing a pew, and the honours proper to his station, to the lieutenant of the county. While it was impossible for him to prevent the progress of itinerant preachers from the United States through the country, he put a stop when he could to such questionable rovers. One preacher, the Rev. Mr. Ogden, received notice that he could not officiate in Upper Canada as he was a citizen of the United States.

The administration of justice amongst the Indians was always a matter of the gravest concern to the governor. As settlements began to press in

upon the reserved lands of the tribes, small depredations became frequent, and then the fear was constantly present lest some serious crime might occur that would bring the Indians into open conflict with the settlers. The arm of the law might be strong enough to punish an Indian criminal, but would the little army be sufficient to deal with the savage rebellion that might follow? When the crisis came it arose in the family of Brant, and but for a strange and untoward circumstance it might have proved a test of that great chief's loyalty. One of his sons, Isaac, in the spring of 1775 murdered a white man who had settled at the Grand River. His name was Lowell. He was a deserter from Wayne's army, and as he was a saddler by trade he was a welcome addition to the settlement. The act was committed without any provocation upon Lowell's part, and from no cause that could be discovered. Simcoe considered the matter one of grave importance, and asked advice from the home authorities. He was prepared to demand the murderer, and wrote the Duke of Portland that in case of refusal he meant "to have supported the civil power in his apprehension with the whole military force of the country, for which I have begun preparations." The bold step was not needed. The murderer was allowed to go free during the summer, but in the autumn his career was suddenly and tragically terminated. At the end of a drunken bout he lashed himself into a furious passion against

his father, and when the latter entered the room he rushed upon him with a knife. The blow Brant caught upon his hand, and, in self defence, struck Isaac upon the head with a dirk. In a moment father and son were separated. A week after Isaac died from the effects of the wound, and the application of the law to Indian crimes was for that time avoided.

The public health also received the attention of the governor, and at Niagara, in the year 1796, there was a general inoculation as a safeguard against smallpox.

The vast distances to be traversed between the capital and the chief towns of the country bred a hardihood in all those whose duty led them to travel. The aide-de-camp sewed his dispatches into the lining of his cloak or bound them in a girdle around his waist, and set off with a couple of Indian guides for Philadelphia or Quebec. It took a month to reach either place, a month of constant exposure and peril.

While remote from the scene of the world's great events, the little court in Upper Canada was stirred by them, and the governor would not omit any act or word that might demonstrate to those about him that he was the representative of the king. The dramatic incidents of the French Revolution affected the little circle at York as keenly as the court of St. James. Each one of these outbursts of a demoniac people would give such an ardent and

confirmed monarchist as Simcoe deep pain. Public mourning was ordered for King Louis, and, a little later, for Marie Antoinette when the delayed news of their executions reached the government. The half-masted flag before the Canvas House upon the shore of Toronto Bay reminded the handful of soldiers and civilians that they, too, were in a current of the great stream of events.

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDING A PROVINCE

SIMCOE arrived at Niagara on July 26th, 1792. He had chosen this place for his temporary capital more on account of its convenient position than from any importance it had attained as a centre of settlement. It had the one advantage of being under the guns of Fort Niagara, but this would turn to a disadvantage as soon as the stars and stripes should float from its bastion. It had not even the distinction of being the head of the portage, that was at Queenston. In fact, when Simcoe's eyes first fell upon it, Niagara, or Newark as he afterwards christened the place, consisted of two houses. Besides these there were the barracks of Butler's Rangers and Navy Hall, a building erected during the War of Independence by order of Haldimand for the accommodation of the officers of the naval department on Lake Ontario. It was a log building, constructed after the usual method and without any provision for comfort or even convenience. But with such changes and additions as the artificers of the regiment could make, it remained during Simcoe's term the official residence of the governor. The building was reshingled, partitions were altered, chimneys and fire-places were

constructed, new window-sashes were provided, the interior walls were plastered and the woodwork painted. The repairs were estimated to cost £473 5s. 2d., labour £116 5s., and material £357 0s. 2d. There are references in sketches of early Niagara to a residence that was erected for the governor, but such a house never existed. In Navy Hall, with its straitened accommodation and homely appearance, Simcoe carried on the business of his government, entertained his guests, and was the kingly representative of a king. While the alterations were in progress, the governor lived in three marquees which, as Mrs. Simcoe says in her journal, "were pitched for us on the hill above the house, which is very dry ground and rises beautifully, in parts covered with oak bushes; a fine turf leads into the woods, through which runs a very good road leading to the falls. The side of our hill is terminated by a very steep bank covered with wood, a hundred feet in height in some places, at the bottom of which runs the Niagara River."

The first months at Navy Hall were occupied in a careful survey of all the necessities of the new government and the infant settlements. The bills to be presented to the first assembly had to be considered and framed, and the policy that the governor was to adopt had to be debated, if not fixed. The meeting of parliament gave an opportunity for consultation with the members from the widely separated ridings, and when it adjourned on Octo-

ber 15th, 1792, the governor had gained a knowledge of the conditions of life in the various parts of his province, he had met and appraised its principal men, and had weighed the materials that he must use in founding his state.

One of Simcoe's earliest civil measures was the appointment of lieutenants to the more populous counties of the province. He intended thus to promote an aristocracy, and further to render the government of Upper Canada an exact transcript of that of England. In the hands of these lieutenants he placed the recommendatory power for the militia and the magistrates. He reported this step to Dundas on November 4th, but it was not commented upon either favourably or unfavourably until he laid before the Duke of Portland, on December 21st, 1794, a plan for the incorporation of Kingston and Niagara. Then the duke criticized both measures, the tendency of which he found to be "to fritter down his direct power and to portion it out among corporations and lieutenants, who on many occasions may be disposed to use it in obstructing the measures of government." The duke argued that "the power of the person having the government is the power of this country, but such subordinate powers are not ours, and we have no connection with them, or direct influence over those who exercise them. They are rather means and instruments of independence." It was a characteristic of Simcoe to hold stoutly his own view, despite

contradiction, and he opposed the duke with the argument that the American war was brought on by the "usurpation of civil authority by committees who dealt with power arbitrarily." He wished to check the elective system from operating so universally as in the United States, and asked hereditary titles for his lieutenants of counties, an aristocracy being the truest safeguard against sedition. He asked for instructions: will these offices die out or simply be abolished? Whereupon, having a great horror of sedition and democratic tendencies, the duke allowed the governor to retain his lieutenants. The last one that Simcoe appointed was Robert Hamilton, to be lieutenant of Lincoln; his successors did not renew the appointments and the office, a useless one, was allowed to disappear.

A very early interest was taken in agriculture, and on October 21st, 1792, it was ordered by the council that an annual fair should be held at Newark on the second Monday of each October, to last for six days. This minute was passed on a Sunday, and it is curious to observe that the advent of that day never hindered the performance of public business of the most ordinary character.

Upon February 4th, 1793, Simcoe began an official tour through his western domain. It was the first of three important journeys he made in order that he might understand thoroughly the topography of the country for military purposes, and also that he might be made aware by personal in-

spection of the resources of the land for cultivation and settlement. His company consisted of Major Littlehales, Captain FitzGerald and Lieutenant Smith of the 5th Regiment, and Lieutenants Talbot, Gray, and Givins. They began their journey in sleighs. The roads were wet, as the season had been unusually mild. The first objective point was the Mohawk village on the Grand River, which they reached about noon on the seventh. Here they attended service in the mission church on Sunday the 10th, and left the village at noon on the same day. As they were now to follow Indian trails they left their sleighs and proceeded on foot with Brant and twelve of the Mohawks. They wore moccasins but not snowshoes. They tramped over land now covered with fine farms and opulent towns, then crowded with a thick growth of forest. Each night they slept in wigwams constructed by the Indians, and lived upon the trapper's fare of pork and hard bread. They passed Indian burial grounds, trees that bore picture-writing, discovered springs of salt and petroleum, assisted in hunting raccoons, squirrels, and lynxes, came upon an encampment of Chippewas making maple sugar in their ancient fashion. They rescued a man that was starving, sometimes lost themselves for hours in the interminable forest, enjoyed strange food in the flesh of the raccoon and squirrel, and rejoiced in the civilized fare of the Moravian settlement of the Delawares. For days they lived the life of trappers, ex-

posed to the fickle humours of the weather. At length, on February 18th, they met twelve or fourteen carioles and drove to Detroit. Here the governor examined the fort and military works and reviewed the 24th Regiment.

The party left Detroit on the morning of Saturday, February 23rd, and began the return journey. Upon March 2nd they had reached a point upon the river Thames (La Tranche as it had been called before Simcoe's time), where they halted for a day as the governor wished thoroughly to examine the place and its surroundings. It was the site of the present city of London, and there Simcoe fixed the situation of the capital of the province.

Major Littlehales, whose short diary of the journey gives a lively picture of its incidents, thus describes the spot: "We struck the Thames at one end of a low flat island, enveloped with shrubs and trees; the rapidity and strength of the current were such as to have forced a channel through the mainland, being a peninsula, and to have formed the island. We walked over a rich meadow and came to the forks of the river. The governor wished to examine this situation and its environs, and we therefore remained here all the day. He judged it to be a situation eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada. Among many other essentials it possesses the following advantages: command of territory, internal situation, central position, facility of water communication up and down the Thames

into Lakes St. Clair, Erie, Huron and Superior; navigable by boats to near its source, and for small crafts probably to the Moravian settlement; to the northward, by a small portage, to the waters flowing into Lake Huron, to the south-east by a carrying-place into Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence; the soil luxuriantly fertile, the land rich and capable of being easily cleared and soon put into a state of agriculture; a pinery upon an adjacent high knoll, and other timber on the heights well calculated for the erection of public buildings; a climate not inferior to any part of Canada."

After this day's halt they proceeded on their way without misadventure, but suffering from severe cold and incessant snow-storms. They arrived at Navy Hall on Sunday, March 10th. The opinions that are expressed by Major Littlehales as to the desirable situation for the capital of the province on the Thames are reflected from those of the governor. He viewed the country, chiefly from the military standpoint, as a wedge of territory driven down into an enfolding foreign country that might at any time become hostile. His capital should therefore be fixed within defences and removed from the water front of the lakes which might be swept by an enemy's fleet. The point chosen on the Thames seemed to him to offer all possible advantages, and he at once began a military road from Burlington Bay to the forks of the river. This road, that he called Dundas Street, after the Right Hon.

Henry Dundas, secretary of state for the colonies, was begun in the summer of 1793; an officer and one hundred men of the Queen's Rangers were engaged during the autumn pushing the road westward from the lake; and in the autumn of 1794 it was completed as far as the Grand River. It was designed to form a permanent communication between York, or Toronto, at which place an arsenal was to be established, and London, a link between the chief military centre and the capital. The west and the great water highways of the lakes lay open and accessible to London by the waters of the Thames. The road after this western beginning was to be extended to the east, following the contour of Lake Ontario to the Pointe au Baudet and the confines of the province.

After resting through April, the governor, with a company of officers, set out for Toronto harbour on Thursday, May 2nd, skirting the shores of the lake in open boats rowed by the soldiers. They arrived probably on the next day, and spent nine or ten days in a thorough survey of the harbour and the shores. The schooners *Caldwell* and *Buffalo* accompanied the party, and their sails were probably the first ever furled in the chief harbour of Ontario. After Simcoe had satisfied himself as to the nature of the harbour and the advantages of the situation for a naval station he returned to Navy Hall, arriving at two o'clock on Monday, May 13th. Four days after, the commissioners appointed by the

United States to treat with the Indians arrived at Niagara ; they did not leave until nearly the middle of July.

On May 27th Simcoe received the dispatch announcing the declaration of war with France. It warned him to make definite plans for the defence of the province against suspected American aggression, and as soon as the commissioners had left for the Miami he took the first steps to carry them out. He transferred the Queen's Rangers to the harbour that a few weeks before he had surveyed, and prepared himself to follow. He was delayed for some time by the serious illness of his son Frank, but he sailed with Mrs. Simcoe and his family on July 29th, and arrived at Toronto on the next day. Here they lived in a wigwam after the Indian fashion, and the governor superintended the erection of huts for the soldiers. The general orders of August 26th, 1793, officially changed the name of Toronto to York, "in consideration and compliment of the Duke of York's victories in Flanders." But nearly a year before this date the name York had been attached to the position where the capital of the province was destined to stand. The town was laid out on an ambitious scale, and the building regulations for the time and circumstances were exacting. No lot was to be granted on the front street unless the holder was prepared to erect a house forty-seven feet wide, two stories high, and built after a certain design.

It is evident that after his arrival the governor decided to spend the winter at York, and seeing that no proper accommodation could be provided, on August 28th he ordered that his canvas house and all its apparatus should be sent over from Niagara in the schooner *Onondaga*, that was engaged in transporting from that place to York military stores. In this canvas house which, before his departure from London in 1791, he had purchased from Captain Cook, the navigator, he and his family spent the winter of 1793-4. The house appears to have been constructed in two sections upon a wooden framework fastened by screws. It could not have been very commodious, but for winter use it was boarded upon the outside; the dead air space between the canvas and the boards would check the penetrating cold, and the house, intended for use in warmer climes, made a comfortable shelter from the Canadian winter.

By September 20th Simcoe had completed his plans for the defence of the country. He rejected Kingston as an arsenal, as he found that it could not be "so fortified as to protect shipping." He therefore settled upon York as the arsenal for Lake Ontario. His careful preliminary survey and subsequent residence at the place had confirmed his opinion that it was the best harbour on the lakes and might readily be "made very strong at a slight expense, and in the progress of the country impregnable." Long Point was to be the arsenal

for Lake Erie, opposed to any establishment the Americans might place at Presqu'ile. London was to be the capital and "mart of all the independent Indian nations. In the present situation of affairs the extension of the settlements from it to Burlington Bay on the one side, to Long Point and Chatham on the other, will in a short space effectually add the influence of command over all the nations within the British territory." This capital was to be fortified and strongly occupied; defences were to be erected at York and Long Point; blockhouses at Bois Blanc Island and Maisonville's Island, or, if Detroit was abandoned, at Chatham. York was to guard its harbour with a fortress mounting heavy guns and ten-inch howitzers. The military road was to connect all posts by a well constructed and permanent highway. A harbour had been reported three miles south of Matchedash Bay, and if a way could be opened from York another independent communication by a short portage to the head waters of the Thames, so it was stated, could be secured with London. These plans were transmitted to Dundas and Clarke almost simultaneously; the support of the commander-in-chief was strenuously demanded for the system.

Sir Alured Clarke might have allowed these well-wrought, exact schemes of the governor to go unopposed, but it was not for him to pass upon them. Just as they were well fixed in Simcoe's mind he withdrew from the government, and Lord Dor-

chester assumed control on September 23rd, 1793. From this date begins the discord that embittered the remaining three years of Simcoe's sojourn in Upper Canada, made his duty a task, and checked his enthusiasm. In Simcoe's mind the whole future welfare of the province was rooted in his military system. He, in imagination, saw populous towns spring up around the garrisoned posts; military discipline, be there war or peace, was the model upon which communities were to be founded. Judge then of his chagrin when he saw Dorchester treat his plans as worthy of little consideration. One by one his recommendations were disapproved of, gradually his troops were withdrawn, prop after prop vanished, until his schemes lay before him as confused and ineffectual as a flattened house of cards. Dorchester's military policy, frequently stated and as often met by Simcoe with complete non-comprehension, was simply that after the signing of Jay's Treaty no large number of troops was needed in Upper Canada; that "a wise administration of justice and natural advantages" are more powerful for the welfare of a province than an expensive military establishment; that so long as war continued with France, Lower Canada was the proper station for all available troops.

Simcoe, without command, had to bow to superior authority, and he made his submission with an ill grace. Almost the last words he penned at York were these addressed to the Duke of Portland on

June 18th, 1796: "I have long seen with patience that nothing but my public duty could possibly justify or support the unsafe and hollow footing on which has rested all that is dear to a man who prefers his untainted character to his existence. . . . In the civil administration of this government I have no confidence whatsoever in any assistance from Lord Dorchester."

But in the summer of 1793, these things were not dreamed of, and Simcoe, with a buoyant spirit, prepared to discover a road to the harbours reported south of Matchedash Bay. For some time he was detained by an attack of gout, but at length, on September 23rd, he set out northward. He walked the thirty miles to Holland River, took canoe through Lac aux Claies (renamed Simcoe by the governor in honour of his father) and then ran the Severn into the waters of the large inlet of Lake Huron now called Georgian Bay. Skirting the shore he examined the harbour of Penetanguishene, which he found commodious and of a depth everywhere sufficient to float the largest lake-craft he could imagine. But a north-west wind was rolling the waters of Huron into the gap, and the survey could only be conducted under the lee of the islands. It was found hazardous to remain longer, and as the provisions began to fail, he returned with difficulty to York. The street or long portage that was to be the outcome of this journey was called Yonge Street after Sir George

Yonge, the secretary of state for war and member of parliament for Honiton in the county of Devon. Simcoe hoped to complete it by the autumn of 1794, but it was not finished by the Queen's Rangers until April, 1796.

He deemed that the new route for the north-west posts would supersede the old canoe way by the Ottawa and French Rivers, that it would draw from the part of Upper Canada adjacent to York supplies for Michilimackinac which then were furnished by Detroit and surrounding settlements. It would, he thought, complete the circular communication with London by way of the head-waters of the river that flows into the harbour of Penetanguishene and the head-waters of the Thames, that lie so many miles apart. The saving, if this route were used for the transport of goods to the north-west posts and for the fur trade, instead of the established communication by way of the Ottawa, was estimated at £18 2s. 3d. per ton. A *canot de maitre* will carry one hundred pieces weighing ninety pounds each, equal to four tons and a few pounds, freight per ton Lachine to Michilimackinac by the Ottawa, £47 16s. 8d. A *bateau* will carry three tons, freight per ton Lachine to Michilimackinac by the York and Yonge Street route, £29 14s. 5d.; saving £18 2s. 3d. Simcoe's expectations regarding the permanent value of this route were never met, and Penetanguishene, which he expected to develop into

the most "considerable town" in Upper Canada, has been dwarfed by its neighbours.

The winter was passed uneventfully at York amid the felling of trees and the squaring of timber. There were the usual difficulties to contend with, heightened by the blunders of the supply officers who sent axes from England that were poorly tempered and would not hold an edge, and mill machinery with the parts confused and broken. A sawmill, with but one saw, was put together from these heterogeneous materials and the frame of an old mill, and with its help and the strong arm of the Rangers Toronto was founded.

One of the schemes that formed in Simcoe's mind at this time was the establishment of government farms. The need of horses was evident. He determined to establish the farms in chosen situations. The labour was to be supplied by the soldiers, and the farms would produce sufficient to pay wages and provide "sustenance for a few horses necessary to the service." These horses, used as pack and dispatch animals, would destroy the dependence upon the Indians for such service, and would end their extortionate charges. None of these farms were established. During the next spring the governor was occupied upon duty more extensive and of deeper importance, and this plan was allowed to lapse like many another that could not be carried out with the resources at his command.

It was early in March that Simcoe received at York Lord Dorchester's dispatch that was, so far as the governor of Upper Canada was concerned, a declaration of war with the States. He threw himself into the action with his accustomed vigour, and at once dispatched a plan of campaign to the commander-in-chief. He hurried runners to the Indian villages and ordered canoes to be in readiness at the forks of the Thames, where London now stands, and in less than three weeks he was on the Miami River. The incidents of this invasion have been set forth in a preceding chapter; the journey is again mentioned to complete the itinerary of Simcoe's movements. The summer and autumn of 1794 were crowded with activities and with the excitement of apprehension, if not of actual conflict. April 27th saw Simcoe again at Navy Hall and May 5th at York, where he went to design at least a mock defence, as nothing substantial was possible. The legislature was opened on June 2nd, and Simcoe was at Navy Hall until early in September, when he again set out for the Miami with Brant. He arrived at the bay on September 27th, accompanied by McKee, the Indian superintendent. He found Wayne withdrawn beyond all danger of attack, the posts under Colonel England watchful and prepared, and the Indians cowed but suspicious and disunited.

The purpose of this trip was "to crush the spirit of disaffection in the Canadian militia there," but

he found that the company called out had gone to Fort Miami. As he found all danger from Wayne's approach to Detroit past, he disbanded two hundred militia that had been levied, and after a council with the tribes he returned to Navy Hall.

In pursuance of the plan to conduct a personal inspection of all sections of the province, Simcoe left Niagara, by way of York, for Kingston, where he spent the winter and spring of 1794-5. His wife and family sailed at a more clement season and upon a more comfortable craft for Quebec, where they spent the winter. The governor did not leave Navy Hall until November 14th. It was late in the month before he left York, and, in an open boat, proceeded to Kingston, where he arrived on December 4th. The journey was hazardous by reason of the furious storms that at this season spring upon the lake, and make it a peril for all mariners. Everywhere the shore ice had taken, and the Bay of Quinté was closed. The days were bleak with the lake winds laden with moisture, with sudden flaws of rain or sleet; the nights were cold and cheerless upon the dark forest-clad shores, between the howling of the wolves and the grinding of the small ice broken by the waves. He made his port, however, without serious misadventure, and spent the winter actively at Kingston. He found the town much improved after the lapse of nearly three years. Many stores for the sale of provisions and merchandise had been opened. New

wharves had been constructed to accommodate the lake shipping, and others had been planned. He found that the fur trade had waned somewhat, and that general trade was taking its place.

He resided in the officers' quarters, and thence many of his most important dispatches are dated. Many claims of the Loyalists had to be investigated and adjusted. He was for these months of the sojourn at Kingston in the heart of the province, for, although the peninsula was considered of the greatest military and strategical importance, the eastern district was more populous and prosperous. He became acquainted with the resources of the district and of the lands upon the Ottawa. He found time and courage to lay his hand upon the abuses in the commissariat department. The purchase of flour for the garrisons had for some time been in the hands of contractors who bought from whom they pleased, favouring their friends, and the settlers had petitioned against the favouritism and extortion, every member of the assembly having set his hand to the document. Simcoe appointed Captain McGill to be agent for purchases in the province, under the authority of the secretary of the treasury, Rose, and ordered all sub-agents to take orders from him. He hoped through the fair and honest action of this officer to equalize prices and to destroy the abuses of the department. But again Dorchester intervened, and appointed Davison to supply the troops under a contract from the

victualling office. Simcoe felt himself degraded and humiliated before the assembly, but avowed himself absolved from all responsibility. It was only a temporary check, however, for on November 3rd, 1795, Captain McGill was appointed agent of purchases, and carried on the duties of his office for some years.

The month of February was spent at Johnstown, a small hamlet a few miles east of Prescott. Simcoe writes to Dorchester from that place that he had planned a road to the forks of the Rideau in order to establish settlements surveyed in 1790 and 1791. He also states that he intended to investigate personally the water communication with the Ottawa, and he notes the importance of this route for civil and military reasons. But all exploratory schemes were abandoned, and early in March the governor returned to Kingston accompanied by Mrs. Simcoe, who joined him at Johnstown after her winter in Quebec. She thus describes their residence: "We are very comfortably lodged in barracks. As there are few officers here we have the mess-room to dine in and a room over it for the governor's office, and these, as well as the kitchen, are detached from our other three rooms, which is very comfortable. The drawing-room has not a stove in it, which is a misfortune, but it is too late in the winter to be of much consequence. We have excellent wood fires."

During the spring Simcoe suffered from a serious and prolonged illness, and it was not until May 15th that he was able to travel. He left the town upon that day, and arrived at York on the twenty-sixth of the same month. Here there was as yet no proper accommodation for him, and, after a thorough inspection of the winter's work and the condition of the settlers who had come to take up lands upon the line of Yonge Street, he sailed across the lake to Niagara, and there he spent the summer and entertained, between June 22nd and July 10th, his distinguished visitor the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. The only trip that he made during this season was to Long Point, where he fixed upon the site of the proposed town, located the barracks and a pier for the use of the war-sloops and gunboats. Upon his return he went up the Grand River as far as a point known locally as Dochstaders, where he portaged into the Chipewyan or Welland River, and by this way reached his headquarters. He preferred the route above the usual course, by way of the Niagara River to Fort Erie. The furious rapids above the falls wearied the soldiers, toiling like galley-slaves at the oars of the *bateaux*.

On the last day of November, 1795, he arrived at York, where he purposed spending the winter. York had increased to twelve houses gathered near the Don, the barracks were two miles from the town near the harbour; two blockhouses had been erected at the entrance to the roadstead. A châ-

teau had been prepared for the governor which was called Castle Frank, after his son and heir. It was situated upon a ridge overlooking the Don at some distance from the barracks and the town, with which it was connected by a carriage road and bridle-path. The building was constructed of small, well-hewn logs, with a massive chimney, and a portico formed by an extension of the whole roof. The windows were protected by massive shutters. It remained standing until 1829, when it was destroyed by fire. This house was intended as a pavilion in the woods, which the family might visit for pleasure or to enjoy *al fresco* entertainments. It was not fitted for use as a residence, and the governor continued to live in the canvas house boarded and banked as during the winter of 1793-4. It was his intention, as soon as practicable, to erect a temporary government house at York, with accommodation for the legislature in wings. The officers of the government he ordered to York on February 1st, 1796. They were granted one hundred acres of land each, and were expected to settle in their new home without delay. But all establishments at York were considered as merely temporary; London had not as yet been deposed, it was the potential capital of the province.

The winter passed in the midst of activities. The Queen's Rangers were busy felling trees and squaring timber for the new government buildings, and detachments of the same troop were working their

way towards Lake Simcoe through the forest, slowly building Yonge Street. As soon as the ice had left the harbour Simcoe sailed for Niagara, and arrived at Navy Hall on April 30th. The session of the legislature lasted from May 16th to June 20th, upon which day he returned to York.

During the spring and early summer he was anxiously awaiting a reply to his application for leave of absence. Hardly had he reached York in the previous autumn when he presented his request to Portland in a letter dated December 1st, 1795. He felt compelled to request an extended leave owing to the state of his health. A slow fever was gradually consuming his strength, and his physicians thought he should avoid the heat of the approaching summer. He was urgent in his application and stated that the only alternative to leave was resignation. When the answer came to his application it was favourable and in most flattering terms. The leave was granted: "Such is the confidence," writes Portland on April 9th, 1796, "that His Majesty places in your attachment to his service and so satisfied is he with the unremitting zeal and assiduity you have uniformly manifested in promoting his interests and those of his subjects committed to your care." A gunboat was placed at his disposal for transport. Whatever the differences of opinion and misunderstandings with his immediate superior may have been, Simcoe must have felt that his policy and conduct had been approved

generally by the government of which both Dorchester and himself were servants. He might turn his face towards home with the light heart and clear conscience of a man who has been approved in an earnest effort to do his duty with singleness of purpose. The letter granting his leave in such gratifying terms did not reach him until early in July. He immediately made preparations for departure. His successor, the Hon. Peter Russell, was sworn in as administrator on July 21st, and upon the same day Simcoe left York. The frigate *Pearl* was then lying at Quebec ready to sail upon August 10th, and the captain expected to carry as passengers Simcoe and his family. The *Active*, in which Lord Dorchester had taken passage, was wrecked upon the shore of Anticosti on July 15th, and when Simcoe arrived at Quebec he found that the *Pearl* had gone down the gulf to save the stores. Dorchester had sailed for Percé in a schooner and the *Pearl*, after salvage of the wreck at the island, was to call at Percé for him, and then proceed to England without returning to Quebec. Simcoe was therefore compelled to remain in the country until late in September, and it was not until November that he arrived in London after an absence of nearly five years.

He was destined never to see the country again but his mind was never free from thoughts of it. That the government also connected him during his lifetime with plans for the administration of the

colony is evident. Writing from Bath on October 14th, 1802, he says: "Ten days have not elapsed since I gave up all views of Canada for the present. It is about three years ago that the Duke of Portland invited me to succeed Prescott." He was reserved for even higher service which fate designed that he was not to carry out.

CHAPTER XII

AFTER UPPER CANADA

NO sooner had Simcoe arrived in London in November, 1796, than he was ordered to Santo Domingo. With but a few weeks rest, and suffering always from ill-health, he sailed for the scene of his new duties, where he arrived in March, 1797. The island was in a state of insurrection and the task that confronted him was the pacification of a horde of blacks who had all the advantage of fighting on their own ground and in a climate that was in itself death to the foreigner. The circumstances were most desperate. With his accustomed thoroughness, Simcoe endeavoured to discover the true reasons for the state of affairs, and he began to carry out reforms that had a beneficial effect if they did not form the basis for final success. To quote from Ramsford's "History of Hayti": "He compelled a surrender of all private leases obtained of the vacated property of French absentees to the public use, and he reformed the Colonial Corps." His military operations were also frequently successful, but no person in his state of health could long withstand the strain of such a war and the adverse conditions of the climate. He was compelled to ask for leave on account of sickness, and he left

the island on September 27th, 1797. The rumour gained currency in London that he had abandoned the government without proper authority. A clerical error in substituting the name of Sir Ralph Abercromby in the order granting the leave had given rise to this unpleasantness. But the matter was satisfactorily settled, and on October 3rd, 1798, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and called to the colonelcy of the 22nd Foot.

For the next year or two he remained at Wolford Lodge endeavouring to regain his health after the years of arduous life since 1791, in the widely differing climates of Upper Canada and Santo Domingo. In 1800 and 1801 he commanded at Plymouth, an important post in those years when the invasion from France was expected. But that danger passed, and tired of the inactive life and garrison duty, Simcoe resigned and applied to be sent on foreign service. He was thereupon appointed commander-in-chief in India as successor to Lord Lake, but before his departure for the East he was assigned an important diplomatic mission with Lord St. Vincent and the Earl of Roslyn.

The reasons for the expedition are thus given by Lord Brougham, who was secretary to the commission: "Early in August, 1806, the English government had received intelligence of the intention of France to invade Portugal with an army of 30,000 men then assembled at Bayonne. From perfectly reliable information it was believed that

it was the object and intention of Bonaparte to dethrone the royal family and to partition Portugal, alloting one part to Spain and the other to the Prince of Peace or to the Queen of Etruria. The ministers thereupon resolved to send an army to the Tagus, to be there met by a competent naval force, the whole to be intrusted to the command of Lord St. Vincent and Lieutenant-General Simcoe, with full powers, conjointly with Lord Roslyn, to negotiate with the court of Lisbon."

During the voyage Simcoe was able to discuss daily with his colleagues the subject of their mission, but shortly after the arrival at Lisbon he was compelled to leave for England by his continued illness that alarmed both himself and his physicians. In one of the swiftest ships of the squadron he sailed for home, unable longer to sustain his part in the negotiations. Mrs. Simcoe had gone to London to make preparations for their departure for India, and in the midst of them, when her mind was engaged with plans for the future, looking forward to the larger life which the new command would bring, she received the news of her husband's death. He had reached Torbay on October 20th, 1806, in the *Illustrious*, man-of-war. Suffering acutely, and hardly able to undergo the last miles of his journey, he was taken up the River Exe to Topsham in a sloop prepared for his need, and thence by carriage to Exeter. There, on Sunday, October 26th, in the house of Archdeacon Moore, under

the shadow of Exeter Cathedral, he passed away. On November 4th, he was buried at Wolford Lodge in the domestic chapel. The county of Devon erected in the cathedral at Exeter a monument by Flaxman, which commemorates his deeds and his worth in the following inscription :—

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, Lieutenant-General in the Army and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment of Foot, who died on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1806, aged 54. In whose life and character the virtues of the hero, patriot, and Christian were so eminently conspicuous, that it may justly be said he served his king and his country with a zeal exceeded only by his piety towards his God. During the erection of this monument, his eldest son, Francis Gwillim Simcoe, Lieutenant in 27th Foot, born at Wolford Lodge in this county, June 6th, 1791, fell in the breach at the siege of Badajoz, April 6th, 1812, in the 21st year of his age."

CHAPTER XIII

NON SIBI SED PATRIÆ

TO imagine Simcoe influenced by the legend graven upon his family arms may be a quaint idea, but at the end of his life he might have pointed to it as an epitome of his motives and actions. He was in truth governed largely by his enthusiasms and his sentiments, and when this is understood it is conceivable that a family motto in such perfect harmony with his ideals and so apt to the circumstances of his chosen career would at last come to be an invisible monitor encouraging the sacrifice of self for the country's weal. His presence in Upper Canada is an evidence of how far he could be swayed by sentiment. He turned his face from the source of preferment and left the court and parliament at a time when he could have forced recognition of his abilities. In his absence ministers might change and power centre itself in men who knew him not. He exiled himself and left his interests to the chance of decay. Why? He answers the question. "To establish the British Constitution hitherto imperfectly communicated by our colonial system, among a people who had so steadfastly adhered to their loyal principles, was an object so salutary for the present and so extensive in its con-

sequences that I overlooked all personal considerations."

He had frequent reason during the American war and his term in Upper Canada to gain admonishment from his family motto. His life was worn away in the public service. At the close of the struggle with the Americans, his constitution was undermined. The kind of warfare he followed, sudden forays, ambuscades, forced marches, stratagems, and subterfuges kept his mind in a condition of strain and excitement, and gave his body no rest. Time and again during those years he broke down but stuck to his saddle when he should have kept his pallet. And above and beyond the exhaustion of such a dashing and haphazard life there was the sense of failure, of lost opportunities, of ponderous blunders, of weak-kneed strategy and palsied inactivity. These were the things that burned deeply and bitterly into this valiant and heroic soul. Could he have felt that he was responsible and had failed to conquer a more capable commander, the bitterness would have been galling, but it could not have been so unbearable as defeat brought about by the wild errors of others. As many another subordinate in that same captured army felt, and as many another has had cause to feel since, he realized in hopelessness the vast inertia of the mass of incompetence above him. This opinion, that the war was lost by stupidity, bred in him a violence of feeling towards the United States that he was never slow

to express. He was a soldier with a great talent, if not a positive genius, for war; this talent he had developed by study and reflection. His mind was full of resource, he had the strategic instinct, he adapted his means to the end in view. There is abundant evidence to prove that this talent was observed and often made use of by his superiors. After he became eligible there was no board of general officers called by the king of which Simcoe was not a member. De la Rochefoucauld writes, "He is acquainted with the military history of all countries; no hillock catches his eye without exciting in his mind the idea of a fort, which might be constructed on the spot; and with the construction of this fort he associates the plan of operations for a campaign, especially of that which is to lead him to Philadelphia."

He desired peace with the United States, and peace he constantly guarded and preserved by his actions and words. Yet there is nothing irreconcilable between this desire and his expressed hostility towards the young nation. Always in a soldier's mind the desire for active service is implicit. Simcoe would no doubt have welcomed the opportunity of again crossing swords with his old antagonists. He was constantly reverting to his past campaigns and laying plans for those of the future. In 1794 he thought his opportunity had come, and he accepted the tremendous responsibility without flinching. In his dash from York to the rapids of the

Miami, in his plans for intercepting Wayne and defeating him, there was all the old vigour, keen-sightedness, sureness of aim. He saw what was to be done, and in the best way, using all the natural advantages, he did it. His swiftness on this occasion alone would justify the praise of George III, that if every person had served during the American war as Simcoe had done, it would have had a different termination. The governor himself believed that he had had a passive victory at the forks of the Miami—that by a show of strength he had prevented an invasion of the province. But there is no equation between the terms of his gift as a soldier and the opportunity of using it in a successful issue. Fortune always meted out to him a forlorn hope. In the American war and later in Santo Domingo adverse conditions were heaped upon him in huge bulk, immovable. He seemed to copy the broken career of his father, and pass on the example to his son.

The military cast of his mind is evident in nearly all his plans for the development of the colony. He would have had it evolve into a peaceful camp, into settlements of which the blockhouse would be the heart and head. The mainstay of loyalty, religion, and prosperity would be the garrison—and loyalty in this sentence is not written carelessly before religion. Loyalty was to be the creed of the Upper Canadian. So familiar is Simcoe with this virtue that at last it begins to smirk and take on a comic

cast. In his vision of a provincial capital there is the pure comic. Within its walls there was to be erected the palladium of British loyalty, all republicans were to be cast forth, there was to be one true church, there was to be the university as a safeguard of the Constitution, there opinion and character were to be so schooled and moulded that to consider them would be to look upon the obverse and reverse of a Georgian guinea; there was to be a sort of worship of the British Constitution, there at every street corner was to be a sentry, there the very stones were to sing "God save the King," and over it all there was to be the primness of a flint-box and the odour of pipe-clay. The vision in reality has taken on a different form, but it is easy to think that Simcoe would be satisfied with the actuality and claim it as a growth from his seedling.

The compact bureaucracy that rose and flourished and was cut down after his day must be traced to the official system that he inaugurated. It was designed to prevent sedition, and to destroy the very seeds of republicanism as with a penetrating frost. But the error at the heart of this system was, that democratic principles and practices could not be enwrapt with the practice and principles of the British Constitution. Simcoe had unearthed many of the roots that nourished the tree of the American Revolution, but the tap-root he had not traced. It must be said that he was made of the same

metal as many of the colonial governors, and in their positions he would have opposed a like stubbornness to the new, restless, over-eager undercurrent that was running strongly in colonial affairs. Instead of delving a wider channel in which it might run safely and spend its energy usefully, he would also have built the dams and barriers that fretted the current which finally rose and swept them out into the ocean. He would have failed to appreciate the new conditions that free life had formed in the western air. Desire for constitutional changes and outcry against taxation and monopoly he would have endeavoured to crush as subversive and contumacious; for Simcoe had the defects of his qualities. Against his vivacity, his power of incentive, his courage, his intrepid uprightness, we must place impatience, stubbornness, suspicion and lack of self-restraint. When he was opposed he gave his adversary no credit for sincerity, he imputed unworthy motives, and in expressing his case in rebuttal he went beyond all bounds in the extravagance of his language. These petulant outbursts, in which sentences are swollen and turgid with a sort of protesting rhetoric, sometimes cancel sympathy. Against Lord Dorchester one is prone to take the side of Governor Simcoe, seeing how earnest and zealous he was, but there is much in his correspondence with his superior officer that is not of perfect temper. Many of these letters, fluttering often upon the borders of pure impertinence, gain

support for the old warrior, whose replies did not fail in dignity and a sort of amiable condescension. When it is comprehended how fine a gentleman Simcoe could be, some of his expressions are often inexplicable. But he was supersensitive in the region of personal and public honour, particularly when the attack pierced also his sense of duty. It was when so stricken that he made the loudest outcry.

With all these minor faults, faults of a sanguine and buoyant temperament, he yet was a great gentleman. Twice at least during his stay in Upper Canada he was called upon to occupy positions that required the utmost tact, and in neither was he in the least wanting. In the summer of 1793 for many days he entertained three American commissioners to the Indians at a time when he suspected early active hostilities and when his civil position was involved and complicated with military preparations and the nervous and tricky diplomacy of Brant and his confederates. One of his guests was that General Lincoln who capitulated to Clinton at Charleston, and the past must have contained bitter memories for both guest and host, but the general in his memoirs has nothing but praise for the consideration shown him. Simcoe's dislike of the new republic, his fear of American politics, and his sympathy with the Indian demands were carefully cloaked and nothing appeared but a fine hospitality that placed his guests at ease.

The second occasion was when he entertained the French Royalist, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, at a time when republican France was at war with England. The duke during all the days of his stay was in the country under sufferance, but was made at home in the large simple manner that won his admiration. In Simcoe's relations with his people he showed a like consideration, and although he was criticized, misunderstood, and disliked, it was not often so. These cases oftenest arose from the opposition of his honesty, brusque but open and fearless, to the small plots for gain and preferment that he discovered. To persons thus engaged he seemed like a withering fire, he burned them with scorn. He had none of the finesse that can measure faults and adjust rebuke in degree. He used the same sledge-hammer to break the mill-stone of some great public abuse and the hazel-nut of a private peccadillo.

But his character held in happy combination traits that made him an almost perfect governor for the place and the time. He treated his people as a nobleman might treat his tenants if his temper were magnanimous and progressive. In Upper Canada he appeared as an urbane landlord upon a huge, wild estate. Any attitude other than the one he adopted would have made him the most unpopular man in the province. His genius for exhibiting personal interest in the individual concerns of his little people made him beloved and respected. His stern

sense of duty and his military prowess gave a feeling of security to scattered settlements in a troubled and uncertain time.

After all is said the essential quality of this man's mind and temper was integrity. Every thought and action rose from that deep, pure spring. It was the perception that the man was filled with lofty patriotism, that the sense of duty was inherent in him and unassailable, that led Pitt to remark that he was needed in Santo Domingo by reason of his integrity, not for his military exertion. And in closing a review of his character and aims it is this quality more than all others that comes into prominence, and remains massed, large and luminous. For in the end it comes to be a question as to what this man's work in our country is to stand for, what we are to think of when we bring into our minds him and those early days that he filled so full with untiring energy. He has all the advantage and all the disadvantage that clings about his position as a pioneer of government. He could do but little in his five years of power to direct the future of the province, and from many of his ideals and aims we have swung far away. But he possessed the advantage of having no forerunner, and even what he did has a larger value than the acts of those who may have had richer, fuller opportunity. Certain waterways and highways, very many place-names, and a few great centres of population will always be associated with his memory. These are material

things, and in a country where the interests of trade and the minutiæ of barter and exchange must perforce receive an undue prominence, it is well that some character, some utterance of an ideal position may exist which we may uplift for guidance, to which we may turn when wearied by the sordidness of the time and the garishness of party aims and mean local ambitions. In Simcoe's character and utterance we have such a possession. He had in abundance, and used to the full, that great quality of integrity which is the corner-stone of public and private usefulness, that quality without which both acts and words sound as brass and tinkle as a cymbal. We might choose more widely and not choose so well if, in a search for ideals, we passed by the worth of the first governor of Upper Canada. It is by his purity of purpose and his lofty rectitude that he may be of abiding use to us. His words are now as cogent as they were in his day. They may look as dim to the eyes of a practical politician as an old-fashioned lanthorn, but they shed an honest light. And we might all profit exceedingly by a close observation of the group of virtues that, in the following words, our exemplar has brought together that he considers the prime qualities to assist at the founding of a nation: "It is our immediate duty to recommend our public acts to our fellow-subjects by the efficacy of our private example; and to contribute in this tract of the British empire to form a nation, obedient to the laws, frugal, temperate, industrious,

impressed with a steadfast love of justice, of honour, of public good, with unshaken probity and fortitude amongst men, with Christian piety and gratitude to God."

It would be well in reading them to remember that they were written of our country and spoken to our forefathers, and that by direct inheritance they belong and appertain to our national life and to ourselves. This recollection might lead us to return to them with profit again, and yet again.

INDEX

INDEX

A

Addison, Rev. Robert, 158, 167; his library, 175
Agricultural Fair, 198
Aristocracy in Upper Canada, 69
Arnold, Benedict, Simcoe's expedition with, 33
Arthur, Rev. Mr., 167, 168
Assembly, House of, first members of, 80; first session, 85; second session, 88; third session, 91; fourth session, 92; fifth session, 94
Atkins, Mr. D. A., 167

B

Banks, Sir Joseph, Simcoe's letter to, 166
Bethune, Rev. John, 164
Bourinot, Sir J. G., his *précis* of the Canada Act, 10–12
Brant, Isaac, murders Lowell, 191
Brant, Joseph, visits Philadelphia, 121; his policy, 122; looses influence with western Indians, 124; Simcoe's opinion of, 125; kills his son Isaac, 192
Brougham, Lord, secretary to the commission to Lisbon, 220
Burk, Rev. J., censured, 190
Burke, Edmund, quarrels with Fox, 8
Burns, Edward, clerk of the Crown, 178
Burns, Rev. Mr. schoolmaster, 167

C

Campbell, Major, in command at the Miami, 136; opposes Wayne, 139
Canada Act, the, 1–15
Canals, the first, 112, 113
Carondelet, Baron, his letter to Simcoe, 134–6
Cartwright, Richard, remarks on Loyalists, 57, 58; report on marriage, 86–8; asserts his loyalty, 98; memorandum on exchange, 109
Castle Frank, 215
Churches, the, 155–67
Civil list, first estimate for, 177
Clarke, Jonathan, 167
Cockrel, Mr, his night school, 167
Collver, Rev. Jabez, 165
Commissioners to the Indians, 123, 184
Costa, Francis, naval officer, 178
Currency, early substitutes for, 68; act regulating, 94

D

Desertion, punishment for, 72
Dorchester, Lord, his interest in the Canada Act, 3; his difference with Simcoe, 130; his resignation, 142; wrecked on Anticosti, 217
Drinking, the vice of the time, 71, 72

Duel, between Messrs. Small and White, 181
Duke of Kent, visits Upper Canada, 183
Dunn, Rev. Robert, 164

E

Education, 166–75
Elmsley, John, chief-justice, 178
Exports from Kingston, 1794, 108

F

Fox, Charles James, quarrels with Burke, 8
Freemasons' Hall, 83, 96
Fur Trade, the, 105

G

Goddard, Charles, government agent, 178
Grenville, Lord, his letter *re* Canada Act, 2

H

Hamilton, Robert, lieutenant of the county of Lincoln, 198
Holland, Mr., surveyor, 178
"Hungry year," the, 65

I

Indians, their friendship with the Loyalists, 61 ; Six Nations, 74 ; government's policy towards, 75, 119 ; administration of justice among, 190
Indian department, organization, 127
Itinerant preachers, 162

J

Jarvis, William, secretary of the province of Upper Canada 178
Jay's Treaty, 141, 142

K

Kent, Duke of, visits Upper Canada, 183
King's birthday celebration 1793, 185, 186
Kingston, Simcoe's residence at, 212

L

Lake, Lord, Simcoe succeeds, 220
Land Boards, 102–4
Langhorn, Rev. John, 158
La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Duke de, extracts from his journal *re* emigrants, 56 ; describes soldiers dressing on the *Onondaga*, 73 ; describes opening of fourth session of the legislature, 92, 93 ; refers to Simcoe's preference for Roman Catholic clergy for the Indians, 166 ; reference to houses in Upper Canada, 179 ; scarcity of servants, 182 ; visits Simcoe, 187, 188, 214
Le Du, priest, sent to United States, 190
Legislative council, the, members sworn in, 79
Library, the public, 175 ; Rev. Mr. Addison's, 175
Lieutenants of counties, 197, 198
Lincoln, General Benjamin, 123 ; his diary, 184–6
Lisbon, the commission to, 221
Littlehales, Major, aide-de-camp, 177
London, capital of Upper Canada, 200
Loyalists, persecution of, 54, 55 ; first refugees, 56–8

INDEX

Loyalists, United Empire, proclamation regarding, 71
Lymburner, Mr. Adam, opposes the Canada Act, 2
Lyons, Mr., schoolmaster, 167

M

McDonnell, Rev. Mr., 165
McGill, Captain, agent of purchases, 212
Mackenzie, Alexander, 188–9
Marriage Act, passed, 88; the repeal of, 161
Marriages, 66; Cartwright's report upon, 86–8
Mesplet, Fleury, prints proclamations, 173
Militia Act, the, 91
Morse, Colonel, his scheme for confederation of the colonies, 4
Mountain, Rev. Jehoshaphat, first Anglican bishop, 158; his opinion of itinerant preachers, 159; given seat in legislative council, 160

N

Navy Hall, 195, 196
Niagara or Newark, first settlement at, 58, 195

O

Ogden, Rev. Mr., a citizen of the United States, 190
Osgoode, William, chief-justice, speaker of the legislative council, 85, 178

P

Pickering, Timothy, 123, 184
Pioneer life in Upper Canada, 51–77
Pitt, his speech during the debate on the Canada Act, 7; remarks *re* Simcoe's integrity, 231
Plymouth, Simcoe commander at, 220
Population, 115
Portland, Duke of, Simcoe's letter to, regarding military operations of 1794, 143–54
Powell, William Dummer, judge of the common pleas, 178
Presbyterian Church, first ministers of, 164
Prices of merchandise, 114

Q

Queen's Rangers, origin of corps, 22; discipline introduced by Simcoe, 24; placed on roster of British army, 39; disbanded, 39; arrive at Quebec, 49

R

Randolph, Beverley, 123, 184
Rate of wages, 113
Rideau River route, 213
Roman Catholic Church, 165
Roy, Louis, king's printer, 172, 173
Russell, Hon. Peter, sworn as administrator, 217

S

Santo Domingo, Simcoe appointed governor of, 219
Schools, teachers and equipment, 166, 167
Simcoe, Captain John, father of John Graves, member of court martial on Admiral Byng, 15; dies, 1759, on *Pembroke* en route

to Quebec, 16; his opinion of Quebec and Montreal, 17
Simcoe, Frank, 179, 203
Simcoe, Mrs. John Graves, her character, 40; presented with a horse by Richard Duncan, 180; her description of Newark, 196; describes quarters at Kingston, 213
Simcoe, John Graves, takes part in debate on Canada Act, 7, 8; his birth and parentage, 15; removes to Exeter, 17; education, 17; enters the army, 18; reaches Boston, June 17th, 1775, 18; his ambition to command light troops, 19; leaves Boston, 20; appointed captain in the 40th Regiment, 20; winters at New Brunswick, N.J., 21; lands at Elk River, 22; wounded at battle of Brandywine River, 22; takes command of Queen's Rangers, 22; his Military Journal, 23; the engagements at Quintin's Bridge and Hancock's House, 24; an extreme partizan, 25; promoted to rank of lieutenant-colonel, 25; battle of Monmouth Court House, 26; is wounded, 27; winter quarters at Oyster Bay, 30; ambushed and taken prisoner, 32; expedition with Benedict Arnold, 33; description of night attack, 34; the attack at Point of Fork, 34; the engagement at Spencer's Ordinary, 35; surrender at Yorkton, 37; sails for England on parole, 37; his marriage, 40; his poetic gifts, 41, 42; enters parliament, 44; speech on impeachment of Hastings, 44; appointed to Upper Canada, 44; sails in the *Triton* and arrives at Quebec, 47; delayed at Quebec, 48; leaves for Upper Canada, 49; arrives at Niagara, 50; his opinion as to an aristocracy, 69; opens legislature, 83; his opinions on slavery, 90; his opinion of Cartwright and Hamilton, 92, 98; last speech to the legislature, 95; remarks on Arnold, 104; gives attention to agriculture, 107; views on trade and exchange, 111; his peace policy, 117; entertains Indian commissioners, 123; his distrust of Brant, 125; wishes to reorganize Indian department, 127; his Indian name, 128; arrives at York, 129; his quarrel with Dorchester, 130; goes to the Miami River, 134; his letter in defence of his military actions during 1794, 143–54; his opinion regarding church establishment, 155; letter to Sir Joseph Banks on education, 166; views on education, 168, 169; university foundation, 170, 171; his advice to publisher of *Gazette*, 174; public library, 175; aids Agricultural Society, 175; reference to de la Rouchefoucauld, 188; appoints lieutenants of counties, 197; official tour to Detroit, 198-201; his opinion of the situation of London, 200, 201; begins road from Burlington Bay, 201; voyage to Toronto harbour,

202; lives in wigwam at Toronto, 203; winters at Toronto in canvas house, 204; opinion of Toronto harbour, 204; his plan of defence, 205; disagreement with Dorchester, 206, 207; visits Matchedash Bay, 207; changes name of Lac aux Claies to Simcoe, 207; plans Yonge Street, 207; wishes to establish government farms, 209; visits Detroit and the Miami River, 210; visits and spends winter of 1794-5 at Kingston, 211; improves commissariat department, 212; visits Johnstown, 213; illness, spring of 1795, 214; entertains de la Rochefoucauld, 214; visits Long Point, 214; spends winter of 1795-6 at York, 214; granted leave of absence, 216; sails for England, 217; leaving England for Santo Domingo, 219; promoted to rank of lieutenant-general, 220; commands at Plymouth, 220; appointed commander-in-chief in India, 220; diplomatic mission to Lisbon, 220; last illness and death, 221; his monument in Exeter Cathedral, 222; his character and aims, 223–33

Slavery in Upper Canada, 89, 90

Small, John, clerk of the council, 178; duel with John White, 181

Smith, Chief-Justice, 4

Smuggling, 107

Society at Niagara, 180-2, 186

St. Clair, General, his defeat, 120

Strachan, Dr. John, Bishop of Toronto, 170, 171

Stuart, Rev. John, 157, 166

Superior court, instituted, 92

T

Talbot, Lieutenant, aide-de-camp, 177, 178

Tiffany, Mr. G., king's printer, 173; wishes to print a magazine, 174; publishes the *Constellation*, 174

Toronto, name changed to York, 203

Transportation, cost of, Lachine to Michilimackinac, 208

Trayes, Mr., schoolmaster, 167

Treaty of Paris, Clauses IV, V, VI, 52–4

U

Upper Canada Gazette, The, 172, 173, 174

V

Vessels on the lakes, 113

W

Wayne, General, his expedition against the Indians, 121, 138

White, John, elected attorney-general, 81; duel with John Small, 181

Y

Yonge Street, 207

York, new name for Toronto, 203; selected as arsenal, 204

GENERAL BROCK

Karl Strube M. G.
L. Brandt

THE MAKERS OF CANADA

GENERAL BROCK

BY

LADY EDGAR

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PREFACE

AMONG the men of action who are entitled to be called makers of Canada, Sir Isaac Brock may well take a prominent place. He came to Canada in 1802, and gave ten years of his life to the country in which he was called to serve. Both in a civil and a military capacity he filled a post requiring unique qualities of head and heart. That the distinction he won was not ephemeral is proved by the honour in which his name is still held, although nearly a century has passed since he laid down his life on Queenston Heights.

England has been served well by her soldiers in many lands, and is not ungrateful to those who have built up her empire. At critical times in her history the right man has appeared on the scene possessing the force of character needed for special work. Such a man was Isaac Brock. He entered the English army at the close of the eighteenth century, when the service was at its lowest ebb. Fortune placed him under the command of such enlightened men as Sir Ralph Abercromby and General Stewart, and the lessons he learned from them he afterwards put to good use. When, in 1812, the long-smouldering enmity between the United States and England burst into the flame of

war, and Canada was the battleground, he entered upon the defence of the country entrusted to his charge with an indomitable spirit. With very inefficient means at his disposal, he used effectively what came to his hand. He took the untrained militia of Upper Canada and made of them a disciplined soldiery. He taught the youth of the country a lesson in courage and patriotism, and with infinite patience, tact, and judgment, he led them through their first days of trial. By his contemporaries Sir Isaac Brock was looked upon as the saviour of Canada and time has not tarnished the lustre of his fame.

M. Edgar

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I — Page

HIS BIRTHPLACE 1

CHAPTER II

SERVICE ABROAD—HOLLAND 13

CHAPTER III

SERVICE ABROAD—THE BALTIC 23

CHAPTER IV

IN CANADA 33

CHAPTER V

UPPER AND LOWER CANADA—1802 . . 45

CHAPTER VI

MILITARY POSTS 53

CHAPTER VII

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR 69

CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER VIII	
OLD QUEBEC	89
CHAPTER IX	
AFFAIRS IN EUROPE, 1808	99
CHAPTER X	
POLITICS IN QUEBEC	115
CHAPTER XI	
QUEBEC AND NIAGARA	131
CHAPTER XII	
1811 IN CANADA AND EUROPE	149
CHAPTER XIII	
THE NEW GOVERNOR	161
CHAPTER XIV	
GATHERING CLOUDS	171
CHAPTER XV	
CANADA'S DEFENCE	183
CHAPTER XVI	
ON THE FRONTIER	201

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XVII

Page

A VIGOROUS COMMANDER . . . 223

CHAPTER XVIII

BROWNSTOWN AND MAGUAGA . . . 235

CHAPTER XIX

DETROIT 245

CHAPTER XX

THE ARMISTICE 261

CHAPTER XXI

CONSEQUENCES OF ARMISTICE . . . 283

CHAPTER XXII

QUEENSTON HEIGHTS 295

INDEX 317

MAP OF THE NIAGARA FRONTIER . . . *Facing* 201

MAP OF THE DETROIT FRONTIER . . . *Facing* 245

CHAPTER I

HIS BIRTHPLACE

"Thou Guernsey! bravely crowned
With rough embattled rocks. . . ."
—*Drayton*

"Sévère et douce."—*Victor Hugo.*

"IN that corner of the old Norman land where live the little people of the sea, in that island of Guernsey, stern yet mild," Isaac Brock was born.

It was a rough cradle, yet not an unkind one. Though for countless ages its shores have been beaten about and broken by its relentless enemy, the ocean, yet behind that bold and serried front lie peaceful glens and valleys carpeted with heather and gorse, and fair fields full of lovely ferns. Cruel reefs lie around the island—the terror of sailors, and out from the sea fog that hovers over them loom giant rocks, strange and grotesque shapes, into which the sea has hollowed many a cavern, haunted, as old legends tell, by the evil spirits of the deep.

Guarded by those granite cliffs, apart from the world—for in the eighteenth century there was but little communication with either England or France—the simple folk of the island lived. The women were famed for their beauty, blue-eyed and rosy-

cheeked, a combination of Saxon fairness and Norman freshness; the men were hardy, bold and daring, as became those who gained their living in such a precarious way as sailors and fishermen and smugglers of the Channel Islands.

In addition to the fishermen and the sailors there were the country people who lived on and cultivated their own estates, the largest of which did not exceed seventy-five English acres. Wheat was the principal crop, and dairy products the chief source of profit. Beside the country people there lived in or near St. Peter's Port, the capital, another distinct set of inhabitants, who may be called the upper or governing class. To this class the family of Brock belonged.

Guernsey contains about twenty-five square miles. Its shape is that of a right-angled triangle. The sides face the south, the east, and the north-west, and are respectively about six and one-half, six, and nine miles long. The only town of importance and the seat of government is St. Peter's Port, situated on the slope of a hill about the middle of the more sheltered eastern coast. South of the town rise the cliffs crowned by a strong fortress. At the entrance of the harbour is Castle Cornet, once a detached island fort, dating from Plantaganet days, afterwards the residence of the governors and also a prison.[1] The appearance of the town on approaching

[1] Sir John de Lisle was appointed warden of Guernsey in 1405. He writes in 1406 from Castle Cornet, and says the castle is on the point of

it by sea is imposing, but the streets are narrow, steep and crooked, and the houses, although substantial, are dusky looking and old. The harbour of St. Peter's Port was begun by order of Edward I., and was in course of construction for two centuries. St. Peter's Church, a fine building of the fourteenth century, was consecrated in 1312. It was not until the sixth century that Christianity was introduced into the island by Sampson, Archbishop of St. David's, whose memory the small town of St. Sampson on the east coast still keeps green. Previous to this Druidism had been the religion, and cromlechs and relics of that old system still remain.

The Channel Islands were once included in the "Duchy of Normandie," and are the only parts of that duchy which remain to the English Crown. Again and again Guernsey has been unsuccessfully attacked by the French, who, from the days of Edward I. to those of Edward VI., strove to subdue its Anglo-Norman inhabitants. Through the centuries they retained their northern love of independence, and Guernsey is still governed by its own laws and ancient institutions. It is divided into ten parishes, whose rectors, appointed by the Crown, sit in the elective states. The chief court of justice in the island is the royal court, whose

falling, and ruinous through default of the timber, and asks permission to take the timber from a house called "The Priory of the Vale," to assist in repairing the castle, as he could procure no timber either from Normandy or Brittany, or any other port, on account of the war.

power is very extensive and rather undefined. It consists of the bailiff, appointed by the Crown, who presides, and twelve jurats appointed by the islanders through their delegates to the elective states. There is an appeal in certain cases to the king in council. The French language is used in the courts and on public occasions. The dialect of the people in the eighteenth century was still the pure Norman of many centuries before. Each parish had a school, but the principal one was Elizabeth College, originally a grammar school founded by Queen Elizabeth, where Hebrew, Greek and Latin, French, German, Spanish, Italian, drawing, music, fencing, and drilling were taught for the modest sum of twelve pounds a year.

Although wealth and luxury were almost unknown among them, the governing class in St. Peter's Port formed an extremely aristocratic and exclusive set, vying in dress, manners, and language with society of the same rank in England. Their children were frequently sent there to school, and as their sons grew up, commissions in the English army and navy were eagerly sought, and in many a hard-fought battle on land and sea, the men of Guernsey have won renown. It was not the gentler born alone that were trained to arms. By the law of the island, every male inhabitant between the age of sixteen and thirty-three was bound to render "man service to the Crown," and in the stormy days of the latter half of the eighteenth century

and the beginning of the nineteenth, they were often called on to take their share in the king's wars.

For generations the Brocks had lived in St. Peter's Port, and as Guernsey chronicles go back to legendary times, the story that they were descended from one Sir Hugh Brock who came there in the fourteenth century is perhaps a true one.

It seems that in the reign of Edward III. an English knight of that name was keeper of the castle of Derval, in Brittany. When the French overran that country this castle was besieged by the Duke of Bourbon, the Earls of Alençon and Perche, and a gallant array of the chivalry of France. Now Sir Hugh Brock's cousin, Sir Robert Knolles, who was governor of the duchy of Brittany, was also at that time besieged in Brest by the famous Bertrand du Guesclin. He succeeded in driving off his assailants, and then marched to the relief of his cousin, Sir Hugh, who was on the point of surrendering when the timely succour arrived. The English were, however, soon after driven out of France by the valiant du Guesclin, and as Guernsey lies directly between the coast of Brittany and England it is not improbable that this same Sir Hugh or some of his family settled there.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, one William Brock, of St. Peter's Port, had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, William, married Judith de Beauvoir, also of an ancient Guernsey family. The third son, Henry, married

Susan Saumarez, the sister of that valiant sailor, afterwards the celebrated Admiral Lord de Saumarez. The second son, John, born on January 24th, 1729, married in 1758 Elizabeth de Lisle,[1] daughter of the bailiff of the island, whose ancestor, Sir John de Lisle, had been governor of Guernsey in the reign of Henry IV. By her he had fourteen children, of whom ten lived to maturity. Isaac was the eighth son, and was born on October 6th, 1769,[2] the year that also saw the birth of Wellington and Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1777 the family was deprived of a father's care, for Mr. John Brock, formerly a midshipman in His Majesty's navy, died at Dinan in that year at the early age of forty-eight. His two eldest sons had already entered the army, John as an ensign in the 8th (King's), Ferdinand in the 60th, that famous regiment once known as the Royal Americans, which was raised in the colonies in the time of the struggle with France, and which afterwards did such good service in the American war. These were strenuous times, and England was fighting in all parts of the world.

In 1779, just two years after his father's death,

[1] Her mother was Rebecca Carey.

[2] The house where the family lived and in which Isaac was probably born and certainly brought up, is a very fine granite one, which still remains, in the centre of the town of St. Peter's Port. It was bought by his father, John Brock, on July 29th, 1769, possession to be had at the ensuing Michaelmas Day, which fell a week before Isaac's birth.—From information given by Miss Henrietta Tupper.

Ferdinand, a youth of nineteen, was killed at the defence of Bâton Rouge, on the Mississippi. Isaac was then ten years old, a strong and lusty youth. At that age he was sent to school, for a short time to Southampton, and afterwards under the care of a French pastor in Rotterdam. While in Guernsey he attended Queen Elizabeth's school, where the Rev. C. Crispin was headmaster. But school life and academical distinction were not to be his portion. At the early age of fifteen he followed the example of his brothers, and on March 2nd, 1785, he obtained a commission, by purchase, in the 8th Regiment, in which his eldest brother had just purchased a captaincy, after ten years' service in America. Though young in years he even then showed proofs of that indomitable will which so distinguished him in after life. Feeling the defects of his education he determined to devote his leisure to study, and often the young ensign would, in despite of jeers, turn from his gay comrades to pass his time among his books, with his door locked to prevent intrusion. Not that he was by any means a prig, for, trained to athletic sports from his earliest years, Isaac Brock had the reputation of being the best boxer and the boldest swimmer among his competitors at school and on the island.

When he entered the army it was at a time of peace, when England was recovering from her long and disastrous American war, and the French Revolution with all its horrors had not yet convulsed

Europe. It was well for the young soldier that peaceful garrison duty at home was his lot for a few years. There was plenty of work in store for him abroad. In 1790 he purchased his lieutenancy and for a time was quartered in Guernsey and the neighbouring island of Jersey.

At the same time, though not in the same regiment, there was quartered with him Mr. Francis Gore, exactly of his own age, who had entered the army about the same time, and who was destined in after years to be associated with him in Canada.

In 1791, having raised an independent company, Isaac Brock was gazetted as captain and exchanged into the 49th, then ordered on foreign service in the West Indies. He was now no longer a stripling but a man of twenty-two, of commanding stature, very erect, of a strong athletic build, with a frank, open countenance and very winning manners. Though of a very gentle disposition, he yet possessed that quickness of decision and firmness in peril which on many trying occasions during his military career proved most useful qualities. From 1791 to 1793 he was quartered in Barbadoes and Jamaica.

During those years, though still at peace, England had spent three millions in increasing her navy, and was, therefore, well prepared to hold her supremacy on the sea.

In 1793 the war that the great minister, Pitt, had vainly tried to avert, broke out, and from that

time until the peace of Amiens in 1801, England was engaged in a desperate struggle with her hereditary foe led by the consummate genius of Napoleon.[1] On December 1st, 1793, the French Convention declared war on Great Britain and Holland. Pitt thought that the war would be brief, but he had miscalculated the power and resources of the enemy, and for more than seven years it raged without intermission.

Service in the West Indies had proved disastrous to Brock, for he fell ill of a fever there which nearly cost him his life, and to which his young cousin succumbed. Through this illness Brock was most tenderly and skilfully nursed by his servant Dobson, who followed his fortunes and was his faithful friend throughout his life. On his recovery, Captain Brock was ordered home on sick leave, and the healing salt breezes of his native island soon restored him to health. In September, 1794, it was the intention of the royal court of Guernsey to raise a local regiment for the defence of the island, and the majority in it was offered to Captain Brock, then on leave. He accepted conditionally, but the appointment which would have changed his whole career fell

[1] It is reported in the "New Annual Register" of 1794 that Sheridan complained in the House of Commons of the manipulation in England of forged assignats, evidently done with the connivance of the government in order to embarrass the Directory, which had issued assignats to an enormous amount. These notes were sent to Guernsey, and forwarded gradually to Normandy and Brittany, where they were strewed on the shore and picked up as treasure trove by the peasantry.

through, as the intention of the government was not carried out.

He was then employed in the recruiting service in England, and on June 24th, 1795, he purchased a majority in his own regiment. That year his mother died. Two years later, at the early age of twenty-eight, he became senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th. His predecessor had been obliged to sell out on account of some mismanagement, and had left the regiment in a most disorganized state, requiring a firm hand to bring it under control.

The year 1797 was one of the most disastrous that England had ever experienced. Although in 1795 the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon had been added to the English Crown, the powers of Europe were now combining against her. Prussia, Sweden, and Spain had come to terms with the republic of France. Bonaparte had overrun the north of Italy, and in October, 1796, Spain had been forced to declare war against England. The Dutch, French and Spanish fleets formed a powerful armada for the invasion of England, while in Ireland the Black flag of rebellion had been raised. There was dearth and famine and discontent at home, while generals and armies were uniformly unsuccessful abroad.

Once again, though, as of old, the wooden walls of England proved her salvation. By a brilliant victory off Cape St. Vincent on February 14th, 1797, Jervis and Nelson crushed the Spanish fleet and put a stop to the meditated invasion. Worse than

attacks from the enemy abroad was the discontent that had crept into both the army and navy of England, and which broke out into open mutiny during this year. There were grievances, no doubt, for soldiers and sailors at that time were treated with the greatest severity. Recruited as the service was by means of the press gang, it was impossible to expect a high standard of conduct from those who were pressed from the prisons and the slums. It is rather to be wondered at that with such material England's navy did so well.

It was in the month of April, 1797, that the crews of the Channel fleet rose in rebellion, and the disaffection spread with extraordinary rapidity all over the world. At the Cape of Good Hope the squadron stationed there rose in revolt. In the West Indies, off Porto Rico, the crew of the *Hermione*, infuriated by the cruelty of their captain, killed all their officers and delivered the ship over to the Spaniards. At the mouth of the Texel, Admiral Duncan, who was blockading the coast of Holland, was deserted by all of his ships save two, and only by skilful manœuvring succeeded in keeping the enemy in ignorance of his perilous position.

The mutiny came at a time when England was pressed on all sides, and had the state of affairs been known by the French and the Dutch, irremediable disaster would probably have resulted. Even the army was affected. At Woolwich the artillerymen were insubordinate, and it was believed

that secret agents of the French were at work corrupting the army.

The 49th at that time was quartered on the banks of the Thames. As the privates of the regiment evidently sympathized with the mutineers, Brock kept a strict watch over the regiment, seldom going to bed before daylight, and always sleeping with loaded pistols beside him. During the day he frequently visited the barrack rooms to tear down or erase such inscriptions as, "The Navy Forever."

Fortunately for England, the blaze that threatened to break out in both services, died out in a few weeks. The courage, good sense and intrepidity of the officers in command soon restored order, and the glorious victory of Camperdown in October, when Admiral Duncan destroyed the Dutch fleet showed that the "mariners of England" had once more returned to duty.

The young colonel of the 49th now devoted himself to getting his unruly regiment into a good state of discipline. He proved most successful in the management of his men. "*Sévère et douce*," his stern yet mild rule won the commendation of the commander-in-chief, who declared that Lieutenant-Colonel Brock, from one of the worst, had made the 49th one of the best regiments in the service.

CHAPTER II

SERVICE ABROAD—HOLLAND

ISAAC BROCK had now been thirteen years in the army, but, although his promotion had been rapid, he had as yet seen but little of active service. In 1798 his regiment was quartered in Jersey. In 1799 it was ordered to England to be in readiness to take part in an expedition against Holland, then occupied by the forces of the French republic.

It was at the breaking out of the war in 1793 that the first expedition to that country had taken place under the command of the Duke of York. At that time England was in alliance with Austria, whose army was commanded by the Prince of Coburg. The campaign, which began auspiciously, ended most disastrously for the allies, and the army was only saved from utter destruction by the skill, energy and wisdom of General Abercromby, who conducted the retreat. In spite of his former failure the Duke of York was again entrusted with the command in 1799. With him went also General, then Sir Ralph, Abercromby, who, in 1796, had won such triumphs for England in the West Indies by the capture of Grenada, Demerara, Essequibo, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Trinidad.

General Moore, who had also greatly distinguished himself at the capture of those islands, accompanied the expedition to Holland. England on this occasion had entered into an alliance with Russia, who sent to Holland an army of sixteen thousand men. The objects of the expedition were to make a diversion in favour of the Russian general Suwarrow and the Archduke Charles of Austria, who were fighting the French in Italy and Switzerland, and to co-operate with the English fleet on the coast of Holland. Ostensibly England's purpose was to rescue Holland from the thraldom of France.

Abercromby's division of ten thousand men set sail from England on August 13th, 1799, and with it went the 49th Regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brock, who was then just thirty years of age. After a stormy passage they landed near the Helder on the 27th of that month. A short engagement ensued, when the British troops compelled the enemy to retreat and Sir Ralph Abercromby took possession of the peninsula, entrenched himself there, and occupied the evacuated batteries. When the Dutch fleet saw the entrenchments of the Helder occupied by the English they slipped their cables and tried to escape, but were chased by the British fleet and compelled to surrender.

The second division of the army, under the Duke of York, followed on September 9th, as soon as news was received of the successful landing of

the first. It consisted of thirty battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry and a train of artillery. The fleet remained at anchor off the coast of North Holland. It was certainly unfortunate, as results proved, that the chief command, by the arrival of the Duke of York, was taken from Sir Ralph Abercromby, for the position of the army on a hostile shore opposed by that skilful French general, Marshal Brune, required a leader of consummate experience. Abercromby's methods had inspired the troops under him with confidence, while, to say the least, the Duke of York had but an indifferent reputation as a commander.

Isaac Brock was accompanied on this campaign by his younger brother Savery, who had entered the navy some time before as a midshipman but had been compelled to retire from that service on account of some breach of discipline. He had volunteered for this expedition and had been allowed to join his brother's regiment as paymaster.

The account of the landing and subsequent events is related by Brock in a letter to his brother John, who was then stationed at the Cape of Good Hope in command of the 31st Regiment. Brock says:—"After beating the seas from the 8th to the 27th of August we landed near the Helder. The fourth brigade was under General Moore and consisted of the Royals, 25th, 49th, 79th and 92nd. To our utter astonishment the enemy gave us no annoyance. On the contrary he evacuated the town

which we took quiet possession of on the following morning. The next evening a reinforcement of five thousand men arrived, but could not land for two days, and in the meantime our troops lay exposed on the sand hills without the least shelter to cover them from the wind and rain. At length the army moved forward eleven miles and got into cantonments along a canal extending the whole breadth of the country from the Zuyder Zee on the one side to the main ocean on the other, protected by an amazingly strong dyke running half a mile in front of the line."

The army, by the arrival of sixteen thousand Russians, was now increased to thirty-five thousand men, but these allies became rather a source of trouble than a help. Though brave, they were undisciplined, and in the advance on Bergen, on September 19th, after driving the enemy before them, they dispersed for plunder, whereupon the French rallied, and drove the disorganized Russians at the point of the bayonet before them, without giving them a chance to reform. At last they encounted a British brigade, whom they blamed for not coming sooner to their support. The Russians had, unfortunately, been entrusted by the Duke of York with the principal attack, while Sir Ralph had been detached with ten thousand men to attack the town of Hoarn. October 2nd was fixed upon for a final assault on Bergen. In this, Abercromby led the right column along the sand to

Egmont op Zee. He was successful, but by the failure of the other division the victory was of no avail in the final disaster that overtook the English troops.

In his letter to his brother, Brock, who was in Abercromby's column, describes the battle known as Egmont op Zee. He says:—"No commanding officer could have been more handsomely supported than I was on that day, ever glorious to the 49th. Poor Archer brought his company to the attack in a most soldier-like manner; and even after he had received his mortal wound he animated his men, calling on them to go on to victory, to glory, and no order could have been more effectually obeyed. I got knocked down soon after the enemy began to retreat, but never quitted the field, and returned to my duty in less than half an hour."

On this occasion Brock's life was saved, it is said, by his wearing, as the weather was cold, a stout cotton handkerchief over a thick, black silk cravat, both of which were perforated by the bullet. The violence of the blow was so great that it stunned and dismounted him. Another fellow-officer wounded at the same time was Lord Aylmer, afterwards governor-general of Canada.

The letter continues: "Savery acted during the whole of this day as aide-de-camp either to Sir Ralph or to General Moore, and nothing could surpass his activity and gallantry. He had a horse shot under him, and had all this been in his line he

must have been particularly noticed as he has become the astonishment of all who saw him. We remained that night and the following on the sand hills; you cannot conceive our wretched state as it blew and rained nearly the whole time. Our men bore all this without grumbling, although they had nothing to eat but the biscuits they carried with them which were completely wet. We at length got into Egmont, and the following day, the 5th, into Alkmaar, where we enjoyed ourselves amazingly."

It is always with pride and affection that Isaac Brock speaks of his brother Savery, who resembled him much both in appearance and character. The offence for which this young midshipman had been dismissed from the navy was one occasioned by the goodness of his heart, for, indignant at the cruel punishment of mast-heading then prevalent, he had dared to sign a round robin asking for its discontinuance. Savery remained in his brother's regiment as paymaster for about six years and then volunteered for Sir John Moore's expedition to Spain, where he acted as aide-de-camp to that general until his fall at Corunna. In the Peninsular epoch, to have been one of Sir John Moore's men carried with it a prestige quite *sui generis*.

A sergeant of the 49th (Fitz Gibbon[1]) gives this tribute to the young paymaster's conduct during the battle of Egmont op Zee. He writes:—"After

[1]Afterwards the distinguished Colonel Fitz Gibbon.

the deployment of the 49th on the sand hills I saw no more of Lieutenant-Colonel Brock, being separated from him with that part of the regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe. Soon after, we commenced firing on the enemy and at intervals rushing from one line of sand hills to another, behind which the soldiers were made to cover themselves and fire over their summits. I saw at some distance to my right Savery Brock, the paymaster, directing and encouraging the men while passing from the top of one sand hill to another. He alone kept continually on the tops of the hills during the firing, and at every advance from one range to another he led the men, and again was seen above all the others. Not doubting but that great numbers of French soldiers would be continually aiming at him—a large man thus exposed—I watched from moment to moment for about two hours expecting to see him fall; while in my view, he remained untouched. Being at this time only eighteen years of age, I did not venture to give any orders or instructions although a sergeant, but after witnessing Savery Brock's conduct I determined to be the first to advance every time at the head of those around me. I made up my mind then to think no more, if possible, of my own life, but leave the care of it to Divine Providence and strain every nerve to do my duty. I make this statement to show that to the conduct of Savery Brock on that day I was indebted for this valuable example and lesson."

As an instance that discretion is sometimes the better part of valour the narrator continues, "About five o'clock p. m., on the same day, while overheedlessly running too far ahead of my men, I was cut off by some French soldiers who issued from behind a sand hill on my flank, and made me prisoner alone. After my return from prison in the January following I heard the soldiers repeat Colonel Brock's words to the paymaster when he first saw him among the men in action on that day, 'By the Lord Harry, Master Savery, did not I order you, unless you remained with the general, to stay with your iron chest? Go back to it, sir, immediately,' to which he answered playfully, 'Mind your regiment, Master Isaac, you would not have me quit the field now?'"

In the victory of Egmont op Zee several pieces of cannon, a great number of tumbrels, and a few hundred prisoners were taken, and the loss of the French was estimated at more than four thousand men. Unfortunately the success of the division led by Abercromby was more than counterbalanced by the disasters that befell the rest of the army. The Russians alone in this short campaign lost four thousand men and two of their generals were taken. The allies now were unable to advance or to draw any resources from the country, but had to obtain their supplies from the fleet.

When the Duke of York first arrived in Holland he had issued a proclamation announcing that the

invasion was undertaken to deliver the country from the servile yoke of France, and calling on all patriotic Dutchmen to rise in arms. This invitation had not been accepted.

The Duke then assembled a council of war, and in spite of Abercromby's protest, it was decided that the allied forces should fall back and await orders from the British government. In the meanwhile the English and Russian troops concentrated behind their entrenchments on the Zyp, where they were hard pressed by the enemy. As the season was so far advanced and winter made the navigation of the coast more dangerous, the Duke was ordered to evacuate the country. He therefore sent a flag of truce to General Brune proposing a capitulation on the basis of an armistice or free embarkation of his army. The English restored their prisoners on condition of being allowed to sail immediately. This was agreed to at Alkmaar on October 18th, and thus ended this memorable expedition, which, in spite of individual bravery, reflected but little credit on British arms. One result of it was the withdrawal of Russia in anger from the alliance. That country had certainly been most unfortunate not only during the campaign, but afterwards.

As foreign troops were not allowed in England and as it was too late in the season to send them home, the Russians were quartered in Jersey and Guernsey where a disease contracted in the marshy

lands of Holland broke out and carried off great numbers.

The 49th Regiment returned to England, and then was sent to Jersey. Lieutenant-Colonel Brock obtained leave of absence and spent some time at his home in Guernsey. His junior, Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe, was left in command, but for some reason or other incurred the dislike of the men. At the first regimental parade after Brock's return the men as soon as they saw him gave him three cheers. For this breach of discipline their beloved colonel marched them into the barrack square, rebuked them for unmilitary conduct and confined them to barracks for a week.

CHAPTER III

SERVICE ABROAD—THE BALTIC

"Of Nelson and the North sing the day."
—*Campbell.*

EUROPE was now engaged in a death struggle with her great foe who was everywhere victorious. After the battle of Hohenlinden on December 3rd, 1800, Austria consented to peace with France, and England was left without an ally. Paul, the half-mad emperor of Russia, had quarreled with her, partly on account of the ill-starred expedition to Holland, partly because she would not give up to him the island of Malta. Bonaparte, whose astute mind saw where advantage was to be gained, promoted the quarrel, and in order to gain the czar's friendship collected all the Russian prisoners in France, clothed them, supplied them with muskets and sent them back to Russia. This had the desired effect, and Paul, from an enemy, became for the time a devoted friend to France.

As a first proof of his friendship he seized the English vessels in his harbours, his excuse being that England had sent a fleet to Copenhagen to oblige Denmark to acknowledge the navigation laws and the right of search of neutral vessels.

In December, 1800, the Russian emperor con-

cluded a coalition or alliance with Denmark and Sweden, to which Prussia afterwards acceded. In consequence of this step, England put an embargo on the vessels of the Baltic powers.

Bonaparte now had visions of a greater empire beyond Europe, and secretly concerted with Russia for an expedition to India. In the meantime, he hoped by commercial embarrassment, by the weight of arms, and by the skilful management of the powers of Europe, to overthrow England, his last and greatest enemy. He had reckoned without Nelson.

In order to meet the dangers that threatened her on all sides, Great Britain brought together the most powerful fleet she could collect in the northern waters. There were eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bombs, fire ships, etc., amounting in all to fifty-three sail. On February 17th, 1801, Nelson received orders to place himself under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, and to prepare for an expedition against the combined Danish and Russian fleets in the Baltic. It was Isaac Brock's good fortune to assist in this memorable expedition, and he was placed second in command of the land forces engaged.

Colonel, afterwards General, Sir William Stewart, second son of the Earl of Galloway, was in chief command of the marines on this occasion. It was another fortunate occurrence for Brock to be thus associated with one of the most progressive soldiers

of the age. Colonel Stewart had served in the West Indies in command of the 67th Foot, and afterwards with the Austrian and Russian armies in the campaign of 1799. On account of what he saw there of the rifle shooting of the Croats and Tyrolese he organized a corps of riflemen in the British army, afterwards known as the Rifle Brigade. Colonel Stewart was much in advance of his times. He brought into the army modern methods such as lectures and schools for the men, classification in shooting, athletic exercises, and medals for good conduct and valour. Nelson called him "the rising hope of our army." His brother, Charles James Stewart, was the well-known and beloved Bishop of Quebec.

Colonel Brock embarked at Portsmouth with his own regiment of about seven hundred and sixty rank and file on board Nelson's squadron, and sailed to Yarmouth Roads, where they joined the fleet under Sir Hyde Parker. Nelson was anxious to proceed at once before the Danes would have time to prepare for them, but there were many vexatious delays. It was March 20th before the fleet anchored in the Kattegat, eighteen miles from Elsinore, where the Sound narrows to three miles. The Russian navy was divided, part being at Cronstadt and part hemmed in by the ice at Revel.

The British fleet advanced very deliberately, a frigate being sent ahead to land the British envoy, Mr. Vansittart, whose instructions were to allow the Danes forty-eight hours to accept the demands

of Great Britain and withdraw from the coalition. This delay annoyed Nelson, who much preferred action to parley, and believed that delay only gave advantages to the defence. "A fleet of British ships are the best negotiators in Europe," he had written. "Strike quick and home," was his motto. On the 23rd Vansittart returned with terms rejected, and brought a report that the batteries at Elsinore and Copenhagen were much stronger than they had been informed. So strong did Vansittart think the defences, that he said if the fleet proceeded to attack, it would be beaten. The numerous delays had given the Danes time to line the shoals and harbours with a formidable flotilla, and to stud the shores with batteries.

The attempt to take the place was nearly given up by Sir Hyde Parker, but Nelson was determined to persevere, and prevailed upon his chief to adopt his plan of action. Twelve ships of the line were given to the daring admiral in addition to his smaller vessels—in all thirty-three ships, while the rest of the fleet remained to the north four miles away.

It was on March 30th, 1801, that Nelson's squadron came to anchor between the island of Huen and Copenhagen. On the morning of April 2nd he shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, placed his ships in order of battle and gave the signal to advance. Then came a check. Two vessels, the *Bellona* and *Russell*, grounded,

and although they could use their guns, they were too crippled to be of much use. Nelson's ship followed, and when he saw them ground and realized that he had lost their support he hailed the *Ganges* on which was the 49th Regiment and told it to keep as close as possible ahead of the *Elephant.* Colonel Brock was now ordered to lead the 49th in storming the principal battery in conjunction with five hundred seamen under Captain Freemantle of the *Ganges,* as soon as the fire of seventy guns should be silenced.

The Danes made a heroic defence, and the plan of assault with small boats being impracticable, Brock and his men remained on board the *Ganges.* Savery Brock was with him, and while in the act of pointing one of the guns a grape shot tore his hat from his head and threw him on his back. "Poor Savery is killed," his brother exclaimed, but the apparently wounded youth jumped up, rubbed his head, and fired the guns as if nothing had happened. In the early part of the action, when it was expected that the 49th would land to storm the batteries, Savery had announced his intention of going in the boat with his brother, who, knowing the hopeless character of the attempt to be made, insisted on his remaining on board, observing, "Is it not enough that one brother should be killed?" The captain of the *Ganges* then gave Savery command of the gun and his narrow escape put an end to the discussion.

With crippled ships and mangled crews Nelson fought on in spite of the signal that came from Admiral Parker to leave off action.[1] In heroic disobedience he still persevered until what might have been an overwhelming disaster turned to victory. When the heavy fire south of the three-crown battery had ceased, when most of the Danish vessels were helpless hulks, four of them remained through which the batteries and the British kept firing. The ships that had struck were resisting the attempts of the British to board them, and it was then that Nelson sent his famous message to the Crown Prince calling upon him to surrender in the name of humanity. It was Brock's good fortune to be near the admiral when he wrote it, and the lesson he learned that day was one he remembered and acted on years afterwards when he had to send a similar message to a beleaguered foe. The message was:—"To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes,—Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson will be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them. (Signed) Nelson and Bronté."

[1] When the signal came from Admiral Parker, Nelson said to his captain, "You know Foley I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes," and then putting the glass to his blind eye he exclaimed, I really do not see the signal." It was therefore not repeated from his vessel and the action went on.

It was in the preparation and despatch of this note that Nelson gave another illustration, often quoted, of his cool consideration of all the circumstances surrounding him, and of the politic regard for effect which he ever observed in his official intercourse with men. It was written by his own hand, a secretary copying as he wrote. When finished the original was put into an envelope, which the secretary was about to seal with a wafer, but this Nelson would not permit, directing that taper and wax should be brought. The messenger sent for these was killed. When this was reported to the admiral, his only reply was, "Send another messenger"; and he waited until the wax came and then saw that particular care was exercised to make a full and perfect impression of the seal which bore his own arms. Colonel Stewart said to him, "May I take the liberty of asking why, under so hot a fire, and after so lamentable an accident, you have attached so much importance to a circumstance so trifling?" Nelson replied, "Had I made use of the wafer, it would still have been wet when presented to the Crown Prince; he would have inferred that the letter was sent off in a hurry, and that we had some very pressing reasons for being in a hurry. The wax told no tales."[1]

A verbal message by his principal aide-de-camp was sent back by the Crown Prince asking the particular object of sending the flag of truce, to

[1] "Life of Nelson," Mahan.

which Nelson replied, "Lord Nelson's object in sending on shore a flag of truce is humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease till Lord Nelson can take his prisoners out of the prizes, and he consents to land all the wounded Danes, and to burn or remove his prizes." By this time the Crown Prince had sent orders to the batteries to cease firing, so the battle ended, and both sides hoisted flags of truce.

It was acknowledged by Nelson that his ships had suffered more than in any other battle he had ever fought. His success, however, was complete. Niebuhr, the Danish historian, wrote, "We cannot deny it, we are quite beaten." As to the importance of the victory, by it the great coalition of the northern powers was broken and Bonaparte once more was foiled in his great game.

Unknown to the combatants at the time, however, was the death of the chief supporter of the coalition—the Czar Paul. On the night of March 24th he had been murdered, and his young son Alexander reigned in his stead. This news did not reach Copenhagen until after the armistice was signed.

In October of the same year preliminaries of peace were entered into in London, and on March 27th, 1802, at Amiens, Great Britain, on the one part, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other, concluded a treaty of peace. The Marquis Cornwallis was the plenipotentiary for England and

Joseph Bonaparte for France. By this treaty France agreed to evacuate Naples and the states of the church; England on her side gave up all her conquests during the war to the powers to which they had formerly belonged, excepting the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon. Egypt was restored to Turkey, the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, and it was promised that within three months the English should evacuate Malta, which was to be given back, under certain conditions, to the Knights of St. John.

After the victory of Copenhagen, when the 49th returned to England, it was stationed for a time at Colchester, and in the spring of 1802 was ordered to Canada where it was destined to remain many years.

CHAPTER IV

IN CANADA

Regarde, me disait mon père
Ce drapeau vaillamment porté;
Il a fait ton pays prospère
Et respecte ta liberté.

Un jour, notre bannière auguste
Devant lui dut se replier;
Mais alors, s'il nous fut injuste,
Il a su le faire oublier.

Et si maintenant son pli vibre
A nos remparts jadis gaulois,
C'est au moins sur un peuple libre
Qui n'a rien perdu de ses droits.

Oublions les jours de tempêtes.
Et, mon enfant, puisqu' aujourd'hui
Ce drapeau flotte sur nos têtes,
Il faut s'incliner devant lui.

"Le Drapeau Anglais."—*Fréchette.*

IT was early in the spring of 1802 that Isaac Brock with the 49th Regiment sailed up the St. Lawrence after a long and stormy journey across the Atlantic. One can well imagine the feelings of the young colonel as he gazed for the first time at the rocky height of Quebec crowned by that fortress, once the stronghold of French rule in America. In the forty years that had passed since the conquest, Quebec had changed but little.

There before him rose the craggy steep where Wolfe had climbed to victory. The grey wall, pierced with arched gateways and bristling with guns, still enclosed the town. On one side stood out the great cathedral whose bell had rung its summons for more than a century, regardless of the change of earthly monarchs. Here, too, was the Ursuline Convent to which Montcalm had been carried in his death agony. Above on the cliff rose the old, half-ruined Château St. Louis, bearing the traces of destruction by shot and shell. All spoke to Brock of stirring deeds which even then could be recounted by those who had taken part in them. He was fresh from fighting the French in the Old World, and the scene of England's triumph might well rekindle the ardour that a year's peace had not extinguished. Did a premonition come to him that on another height in this new land, he too would find fame and death? Perhaps not, for Brock was not given to much dreaming. He only knew that there was work to be done and as an apt pupil from the school of Nelson and Abercromby he was ready to do it in the best way possible.

When Brock arrived in Canada the administration of affairs there was in the hands of Sir Robert Shore Milnes, the lieutenant-governor. General Prescott, who had been governor and commander-in-chief from 1797, in succession to Lord Dorchester, had left Canada in 1799, and although he

held his rank as governor until 1807, he never returned to service in the country.

Canada had been fortunate in the men entrusted with her government, and owing to their wise administration there had been very little discontent among the new subjects of His Majesty. The French Canadians had increased and prospered under British rule. First in the roll of governors stands James Murray, that good and true soldier who saved Quebec for England in the stormy year that followed Wolfe's death, when the Marquis de Lévis brought all his consummate genius to the task of winning it back for France. While the army of Vaudreuil held the river at Montreal, and when it looked for many a weary month as if Amherst would never come to its relief, the half-starved sickly but gallant garrison at Quebec struggled through the terrible winter of 1759 and 1760. The story cannot be told too often of how Murray kept up the courage of his men, and cared also for the feeble folk who were left with him in the town; how, when spring came, both French and English watched the river for the coming sails, well knowing that the side to which food and arms came first would win the day; how, when it was the English ships that came, de Lévis' army melted away and Murray marched to join with Amherst at Montreal; and how Vaudreuil and his abler lieutenant laid down their arms, and the reign of France in the New World was over.

General Murray remained as governor until 1767, when he was succeeded by Sir Guy Carleton, that gallant soldier and statesman, whose life reads like a romance, and who, with but a slight intermission, was to rule the country until 1796. It was he who led the grenadiers in 1759 on the Plains of Abraham and was wounded just before his general sank in death. It was he who, in 1775, as governor and commander-in-chief, drove back from Quebec the American invaders led by Montgomery and Arnold, and who, in spite of traitors around him and a people half sullen, half apathetic, encouraged the remnant to fight for their country and British rule. It was he who pleaded the cause of the old inhabitants before a committee of the English parliament. He understood the difficulties to be met with in the government of Canada when the population was so preponderatingly French, and he helped to draw up the Quebec Act of 1774, which gave to these new subjects the liberties and privileges that in time made them loyal to England. Even the English population (there were but two thousand, to a hundred thousand French) were a little sulky, and inclined to think that too much had been granted to the Gallo-Canadians, but time has proved the wisdom of the act. No wonder that Carleton was welcomed by priest and peasant when he returned as Lord Dorchester in 1792! It was Carleton, too, who, when the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists, had increased the number of

English-speaking citizens, saw the difficulties under which they laboured, and revised the act of 1791, which gave to Upper Canada the laws it required. Between his two administrations, General Haldimand had been governor from 1778 to 1786. He too had been a gallant soldier, and had fought in the old French war in America, as well as on many a field in Europe. He was Swiss French by birth, and, speaking their language and understanding their customs, he was well fitted to be the governor of a French population. His administration was held under trying circumstances, during those dark days for England when her armies were waging an unsuccessful campaign in the neighbouring colonies, and when her prestige had fallen in the New World. Haldimand succeeded, however, in steering a very safe course through a stormy sea, and when he handed the government over to Lord Dorchester he left behind him many wise improvements that he had made in the condition of the country. Stern as his rule had been, this testimony has been paid him by Garneau, the French Canadian historian: "Good intents are recognizable on his part, through much of what he did, his chief aim really being to preserve Canada as a British dependency. It was he who recommended the conservation of the territory situated between the St. Lawrence and the United States frontiers, and caused Lord Sydney, contrary to the mind of Lord North, to adopt, in 1784, the right view of this matter. Now that we retrospec-

tively view Haldimand's leaden tyranny without prejudice, now that we discern what was his master thought, few of us, perhaps, will refuse to pardon him for his rough but honest absolutism, out of regard for his efforts to preserve intact a portion of the soil reclaimed by aliens, which had been gained to civilization by our ancestors." After Lord Dorchester came Sir Robert Prescott, who was the titular governor when Brock arrived in 1802.

In England at this time Addington had succeeded Pitt as prime minister, and had concluded a delusive peace with the first consul, who had now taken upon himself the title of president of the Italian republic. In America, Jefferson had been elected president and Madison had been appointed his secretary of state. Both of these men were hostile to England and friendly to France.

Peace in Europe had made Bonaparte turn his attention to another quarter of the world. In 1801, Spain, by treaty, had handed back to France the immense territory of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain by France in 1763. It stretched from the Rio del Norte on the south to the boundaries of Canada on the north. The great dictator now dreamed of restoring the old colonial power of France in America. What would be easier than to send an army by the Mississippi and Ohio to reach, by that route, Lake Erie and the Niagara peninsula, while a fleet might ascend the St. Lawrence, where he fondly imagined the French population would

easily be seduced from their allegiance to Great Britain? The first step he took in the scheme was to plan an expedition to occupy the island of St. Domingo, which he intended to make a rendezvous for the French navy. The story of this expedition is an interesting one, and as it has a bearing on the events that happened afterwards in Canada, it may be as well to glance at it.

The eastern part of the island St. Domingo belonged to France, the western to Spain. Before the French Revolution it contained a population of six hundred thousand, over half a million being black slaves, while French planters and officials, with their families, numbered about fifty thousand, and mulattoes made up the remainder. The trade with it was very extensive. Its combined exports and imports were valued at one hundred and forty million dollars, while seven hundred ocean vessels with eighty thousand seamen were employed in the coffee, sugar, and indigo trade between France and the West Indies. After the revolution the white population remained royalist, while the mulattoes were republican. This involved the island in civil war, which led to a general rising of the negroes and a massacre of the whites in 1791. Slavery was then abolished in the French part by order of the national assembly. Then Spain attempted the conquest of the whole of the island, but the Spaniards were defeated and driven out of the country. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the grandson of a negro chief,

joined the forces of the French republic, and obtained the rank of general in 1798. He was a man of the Napoleon type, never resting, of boundless ambition and energy, and possessing also the same love of display—"The gilded African," as the first consul called him, while others named him "The Bonaparte of the Antilles."

In 1800, L'Ouverture assumed the title of governor, and took possession of all the French territory ceded by Spain to France in the Treaty of Basel of 1795. He then declared it an independent republic. Bonaparte now determined to send an expedition there under the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, to subdue the insurgents. It sailed in November, 1801, from Brest, and landed in St. Domingo in January, 1802. At first LeClerc met with some success, though at an immense cost of men, but the island remained unconquered. Toussaint L'Ouverture took to the mountains and carried on a guerilla warfare, most harassing to the French troops. At last, by a stratagem, the rebel leader was seized and carried off to France, where he was imprisoned in the fortress of Joux in the Jura Mountains, and soon succumbed to the cold of the climate.

In the island, however, things went from bad to worse for the French. Fifty thousand troops had been sacrificed either in action or from the effects of the climate, and vast sums of money had been squandered. Plantations had ceased to

be cultivated and anarchy ruled. In 1802 Le Clerc wrote that only four thousand men out of twenty-eight thousand were fit for duty. More men and money were needed. General Le Clerc died of fever in January, 1803, and Rochambeau was sent out, but met with no better luck than his predecessor. He demanded thirty-five thousand more men to get the French out of their predicament. At this time there was a feeling against France in Congress because Le Clerc had seized supplies belonging to American traders, and therefore America was not looking quite so kindly on the occupation of Louisiana by the French. Bonaparte had intended to send twenty thousand men there, but the demands of St. Domingo made this impossible. The United States had now begun to feel the need of obtaining possession of the mouths of the Mississippi, so as to have freedom of commerce by that river to supply the needs of Ohio and Kentucky. Spain had given American traders the right to land produce at New Orleans, but suddenly revoked the permission, and now Jefferson was determined to acquire that place for the United States. Monroe was therefore sent to France early in 1803 as a special envoy to negotiate for its transfer. His instructions were, in case of failure, to propose an alliance with England, so that the end might be gained. It was also proposed by Jefferson that the United States should obtain possession of Louisiana by purchase, and should grant commercial

privileges to Great Britain. Monroe was very well received in London. The prime minister agreed that it would be well for the United States to obtain Louisiana, but if this were not possible they should prevent it from going to France. In the preceding year the United States had been quite content that France should occupy Louisiana, if only West Florida could be added to the republic. However, the question was soon settled by Bonaparte. He had become disgusted with his expedition to St. Domingo, and his fruitless outlay there of men and money. He could not afford to lose prestige in Europe, and he wanted to cover up the disasters that had overtaken him in the West Indies. He therefore suddenly determined to give up his plans in America and to sell his right to Louisiana to the United States. He then made a definite offer for the sale to Livingstone, the American minister in Paris. Livingstone replied that the United States did not want the country west of the Mississippi, but simply Florida and New Orleans. Negotiations, however, went on, and were completed on the arrival in Paris of Monroe. The price asked was one hundred millions of francs. This was not accepted, but finally the price was fixed at sixty millions, equal to about eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Florida was not included in the purchase. The United States also agreed to meet the claims for damages at St. Domingo made by American merchants, amounting to about three

millions in addition. Spain protested vainly against the sale, for on ceding the territory to France the stipulation had been that it should not be alienated. Livingstone strenuously endeavoured to have Florida included in the bargain but failed, though the first consul promised his support towards obtaining it for the republic.

The acquisition of Louisiana changed the whole attitude of the United States towards Great Britain,[1] as now they would not require her assistance to secure the mouth of the Mississippi and the Floridas. From this time President Jefferson showed a spirit of animosity in his dealing with England.

The short-lived peace of Amiens was drawing to a close. In order to cover up his disasters Bonaparte resolved to renew hostilities in Europe. As an excuse he declared that he would not tolerate the British occupation of Malta. England had refused to give it up without a guarantee from the powers that it would be left in possession of the Knights of St. John, At a meeting of the *corps législatif* on February 20th, 1803, these words were used: "The French government says with pride that England alone cannot struggle against France." This arrogant statement of course aroused the British lion, and on March 8th, George III sent a message to the House of Parliament, then assembled, that owing to the military preparations of the French he had judged it necessary to take precautions for

[1]See "History of Canada," Kingsford, Vol. VIII.

the safety of his kingdom. On May 16th, 1803, England declared war, a war that was destined to last more than twelve years, and to tax to the utmost the resources of the country.

CHAPTER V

UPPER AND LOWER CANADA 1802

THE year 1802 was a critical time in Canada, and so it was felt to be by the few who were there to guard it. If Bonaparte had succeeded in his plans on the American continent, and had occupied Louisiana with an army of twenty thousand men, Canada would probably have been immediately the scene of war between Great Britain and France. Another enemy, however, was nearer her borders, although ten years passed before hostilities broke out.

When Brock arrived, Sir Robert Shore Milnes, formerly governor of the island of Martinique, was the lieutenant-governor residing at Quebec. He was not of military rank, so in the absence of Sir Robert Prescott, then in England, General Hunter, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, was commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada. The latter was stationed at York (Toronto) which was, therefore, at that time headquarters. The population of Lower Canada in 1801 is given as 160,000. In Haldimand's census of 1784 it was 110,837, of which 108,000 were French Canadians. The towns of Quebec and Montreal were given as containing each about six thousand inhabitants, of which the

proportion of French to English was two to one. In country parishes the proportion was forty to one. These were almost exclusively French; for the families of the English soldiers, who after the conquest remained in Canada and married French Canadian wives, had taken the religion and language of the mothers, and were French in all but in name.

Quebec in the early days of the century remained, as formerly, the centre of society and civilization in Canada. It had then about twelve thousand inhabitants, of whom half were English, including the garrison. The government officials were exclusively English, and, if report be true, formed a rather arrogant and supercilious set. The French residents of the upper class, whose very names smacked of the old *régime*, were still as gay and brilliant as when Frontenac and de Vaudreuil reigned in the Château St. Louis. A glance at a subscription list of 1799 for a patriotic fund to send to England in aid of the expenses of her great war with France, shows, however, that the two races, French and English, dwelt together in amity. Mingled with the names of Sewell, Forsyth, Molson, Osgoode, Pownell and Coffin are those of Taschereau, de Boucherville, de Lotbinière, de Lévis and de Salaberry. The sum of eight thousand pounds was raised and the contributions came, not only from Quebec and Montreal, but from the parishes of Trois Rivières and Sorel. Another proof of the good feeling towards

England that existed at the time on the part of the French inhabitants was that Nelson's victory of the Nile was celebrated by a solemn mass, and by a Te Deum which was chanted in the parish churches by order of the bishop. His *mandement* was:—"Messieurs les curés ne manqueront pas de prendre occasion de cette fête pour faire sentir vivement à leurs paroissiens les obligations qu'ils ont au ciel de les avoir mis sous l'empire et la protection de sa majesté brittannique, et les exhorter tout de nouveau à s'y maintenir avec fidélité et reconnaissance."[1]

Throughout the most trying days of the administration of Carleton and Haldimand, the priests and the *seigneurs* had remained faithful to British rule. It is probable that the former recognized that under it their church was more likely to hold its ancient privileges than under the sway of the new republic.

The administration of Sir Robert Milnes was not favourable to the continuance of this friendly feeling. He always distrusted the French Canadians and advised that the militia should be disbanded because, he said, it was not proper to arm and train the people of a conquered province. He possibly saw through the eyes of his private secretary, Ryland, an able but prejudiced man who had a

[1] Translation.—"The *curés* will not fail to take the opportunity afforded by this festival to make their parishioners realize the obligations they owe to heaven for having placed them under the empire and protection of His Brittanic Majesty, and to exhort them anew to maintain themselves in it with fidelity and gratitude."

most pronounced aversion to French Canadians and Roman Catholics.

Colonel Brock was not long allowed to enjoy the society and comparative comfort of Quebec. His regiment was ordered to the Upper Province where the greater part of it was stationed at Fort George under Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe, while he himself remained at headquarters in York.

The long journey from Quebec was accomplished by water, for although a road had been cut in 1799 from the Bay of Quinté, near Kingston, to York, and although in 1803 there was a passable highway from Quebec to Sandwich, a distance of eight hundred miles, yet transport by water was much easier. No steamboat had as yet been launched on the St. Lawrence and even the large Durham boat was unknown, but the *bateau*, about eighteen or twenty feet long and six feet wide, was in general use. It was capable of carrying about three tons. In ascending the St. Lawrence there were many rapids to pass and portages were long and difficult. To avoid these, Governor Haldimand, in 1784, had designed and built small canals, the first on the American continent, and the forerunners of those magnificent canals which have done so much for the development of Canada. When the river was passed, schooners from Kingston conveyed freight and passengers by Lake Ontario to York and Niagara.

In Upper Canada there were at this time, 1803,

about forty thousand new settlers, for, in addition to the United Empire Loyalists, reckoned in 1791 at ten thousand, there had been an emigration from the north of Scotland and Ireland and also from the United States, the latter being chiefly of Dutch farmers and Quakers from Pennsylvania. The number of regular troops in Lower Canada was a little over two thousand, in Upper Canada about six hundred, scattered at various posts along the frontier. The settlements in the Lower Province were on the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributary streams. In Upper Canada there were small hamlets on the shores of Lake Ontario, of which Kingston, York and Niagara were the principal, and military training-posts at great distances apart on Lakes Erie and Huron. Trappers, hunters and wandering tribes of Indians roamed through the vast forests that lay beyond.

So scanty was the population of Upper Canada, and so unknown its capabilities, that there had been many protests against the division of the country into Upper and Lower Provinces. The English residents of Lower Canada wished rather for the total repeal of the Quebec Act of 1774 and the retention of the old boundaries, and sent Adam Lymburner, a merchant of Quebec, to represent them in 1791, before a committee of the House of Commons. In his argument he said there was no reason for the division of the province, as Niagara must be the limit of Upper Canada. The country

beyond, he represented, could not be of importance for settlement, as the falls of Niagara would be an insurmountable barrier to the transportation of the produce of the land. Burke, in parliament, speaking against the passage of the act, had declaimed against settlement in "the bleak and barren regions of Canada."

In the ten years that followed this protest, despite Lymburner's prophecy, trade had much increased on the lakes, and had even found its way west of Lake Erie. Merchandise was brought from Albany by the Mohawk River, Oneida Lake and the Onondaga River to Oswego, and then shipped on schooners for Prescott, York and Niagara. There were ports of entry at Cornwall, Johnstone (Brockville), Amherstburg and Sandwich. York, the infant capital of the province, was, in 1803, much smaller than Newark, or Niagara, the former seat of government. In 1793 there was on its site one solitary Indian wigwam, and although in ten years the solitary wigwam had multiplied into many frame and log dwellings of the rudest description, there were as yet no public buildings of any kind. Lieutenant-Governor Hunter represented to the government in England that the executive had to meet in a room in the clerk of the council's house, and the only place for the meetings of the assembly was a room in a building originally designed as a residence for the governor. The courts of law also held their sittings there. The governor asked for

eighty thousand pounds for the purpose of erecting suitable quarters for the legislature, for various public offices and for courts of law. He represented also that contributions from England had been given to erect a Protestant cathedral at Quebec, while the inhabitants of York had subscribed amongst themselves for a church.

Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, who was in command when Brock arrived at York, was a Scotsman of whom but little is known except that he had been governor of Barbadoes. There are few records of his administration, and he is but a shadowy figure in the annals of the time. He seems to have lived, as government house was occupied for offices, in the barracks, which were about two miles west of the town. These barracks consisted of a wooden blockhouse, and some cottages of the same material, little better than temporary huts. Another blockhouse was at the eastern end of the town, and between were jutting points of land clothed with spreading oak trees. The harbour was considered the safest on Lake Ontario. The long peninsula that enclosed the beautiful bay was fringed with trees, whose reflection in the placid waters was said to have been the origin of the Indian name Toronto. The wild grape vine threw its tendrils around them, and in their shade were refreshing springs of water. Wild fowl made its sandy beaches and reedy marshes their home, so that it was a very paradise for sportsmen. There were salmon in the lake and in the rivers

that flowed into it, and game of all kinds abounded in the neighbourhood. A road that had been cut through the wilderness north of the town by the orders of Governor Simcoe, led to Cook's Bay, Lake Simcoe, which was thirty-seven miles distant, and by that lake there was water communication of seventy miles north to Matchedash Bay on Lake Huron. Another military highway west of the town led to Coote's Paradise (Hamilton) and thence to New London on the Thames, thus opening up an inland way to Lake Erie. Settlers were slowly hewing out homes for themselves in these remote districts.

CHAPTER VI

MILITARY POSTS

IT was in the year 1796 that England had given up possession to the Americans of Forts Michilimackinac, Miami, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, and now at the beginning of the nineteenth century Kingston, York, Fort George, Fort Chippawa, Fort Erie, and Amherstburg were the chief military posts. The very names of the forts take one back to very stirring days in the country, and a glance at their history shows that this new province of Upper Canada had been once the scene of many a struggle for supremacy between the French, the English, and the Indian.

Michilimackinac, or Mackinaw, the island which lies in the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, had been for more than a century the resort of North-West traders, where furs were collected and shipped for Montreal. In 1671 it had been a Jesuit mission, and stories of treachery and massacre hover around its shores.

Fort Miami was in the heart of the Indian country on the Maumee River about fifteen miles from Lake Erie, into which the river flows. Lord Dorchester had ordered the reconstruction of the fort, a step to which the United States had ob-

jected, deeming it an invasion of their territory. Both the 8th and the 53rd Regiments had been stationed there during the war with the colonies.

Fort Detroit, on the river of the same name, situated about twenty-eight miles above Lake Erie and ten miles below Lake St. Clair, had had a most exciting history. The strait was the key to the upper lakes, and gave Canada the readiest access to the Mississippi. Five times its flag had changed in the century since it was founded by La Mothe Cadillac. Twice it was besieged by Indians, once burned to the ground. In the last days of the eighteenth century it was surrounded by a flourishing little town, with a mixed French and English population.

Fort Niagara, like Detroit, had also been the scene of many a conflict when France and England, with varying fortunes, had struggled for its possession. It was in 1678 that La Salle, La Mothe, and Father Hennepin, sailing up Lake Ontario from Fort Frontenac, found, at the entrance of what was afterwards known as the Niagara River, a small village of Seneca Indians. Here they built a stockade of palisaded storehouses, and dedicated it by chanting a Te Deum, and placing within it a large wooden cross. This stockade was burnt in 1680, and afterwards rebuilt of stone by Denonville. It was designed to be large enough to hold a garrison of five hundred men. This fort was abandoned in 1687, and of the hundred men left there

by Denonville, all but ten perished by disease or in conflict with the Indians. Charlevoix, the priestly historian, mentions a blockhouse being on the site in 1721, and that in 1726 it was the quarters of some French officers, who strengthened it by adding four bastions. In 1749 it was rebuilt as one of the chain of forts designed to surround the French domain as far as the Gulf of Mexico. In 1759, after an obstinate siege, the fort capitulated to General Johnson. One of the English officers, General Lee, writing at that time to a friend in New York, gives a glowing description of the fort and its surroundings. He ends his letter thus: "I am afraid you will think I am growing romantic, therefore shall only say it is such a paradise and such an acquisition to our nation that I would not sacrifice it to redeem the dominion of any one electoral province of Germany from the hands of the enemy." In 1763 a dreadful massacre took place, near the fort, of an English regiment that fell into an ambuscade of the Indians while marching alongside the river Niagara to Fort Schlosser, above the falls. Only a few escaped to tell the tale, and the spot has since been known as the Devil's Hole. In 1764 peace was made with the Indians, who, to the number of two thousand, met Sir William Johnson at the fort, and agreed to give up to the British four miles on each side of the river from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. In 1783, after the American war, this fort was surrendered by treaty by the British, but on account

of unsettled claims of the United Empire Loyalists, whose property had been confiscated, possession was not given up until 1796, when Fort George on the western side of the river received its flag, garrison, guns and stores.

Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, almost opposite Kingston, had also been the centre of many a bloody struggle in the eighteenth century, when the French with their Indian allies battled for its possession, knowing well that to the victor belonged the command of the lake.

Of the military posts left to the British in 1803, Kingston was the largest and most populous of the Upper Province. It was founded in 1784 on the site of old Fort Frontenac, and was the main *entrepôt* between Montreal and the settlements along the lakes. It was three hundred and seventy-five miles from Quebec, one hundred and ninety-five from Montreal, and one hundred and fifty-three from York. Governor Simcoe had designed to make the latter a fortified shipping town, but this had been vetoed by Lord Dorchester who preferred Kingston for this purpose.

Fort George was on the west bank of the river Niagara, about a mile from its entrance into Lake Ontario. It was, in 1803, a low square fort with earthen ramparts and palisades of cedar. It contained very badly planned loop-holed barracks of logs, and mounted no heavier metal than nine pounders. Newark, or Niagara, for it resumed its

old name in 1798, by act of parliament, was the village near by, and had enjoyed for a brief period the distinction of being the capital of the Upper Province. It lay directly opposite Fort Niagara where the river is eight hundred and seventy-five yards wide.

Here the first parliament of Upper Canada met in 1792, and to add to the glory of the occasion we are told that a guard of the 26th Cameronians, then stationed at Fort Niagara, was brought across the river to escort Governor Simcoe in state to the opening. Five sessions were held here before the seat of government was removed to York, and during the last years of the eighteenth century Newark was, next to Kingston, the most flourishing place in Upper Canada. It was here at Navy Hall that Governor Simcoe and his wife dispensed their gracious hospitality. Among their distinguished guests were the Duke of Kent, who rode from their house to see the famous falls of Niagara, and the Duke de Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, who wrote a lengthy account of his visit.

The 5th Regiment and part of the 26th Cameronians were then stationed at Fort Niagara, and the Queen's Rangers occupied the barracks at Newark.

The first newspaper in the country, the *Upper Canada Gazette*, was published here, and there was a public library and a court-house and churches (St. Mark's and St. Andrew's) long before York,

its rival and supplanter across the lake, was provided with any public buildings. It was Governor Simcoe who planned Fort George and gave to it its first rough outlines. In 1803 there was a lighthouse on Mississaga Point, at the entrance of the river near where a fort of that name was afterwards constructed. A dockyard where many workmen were employed, was one of the industries of the place, and here was built and launched in 1792 the first Canadian merchant vessel.

It was in 1783 that there landed on the beach the first band of Loyalist refugees who left their homes in the revolted colonies for the sake of king and country, and who were to be the founders of a new nation in this wilderness. For more than two years rations were issued to the poor wanderers from Fort Niagara and Butler's barracks, but by the beginning of the new century the thriving farms in the neighbourhood of Newark showed that the "hungry years" had passed.

Seven miles higher up the river was Queenston, a transport post which had, in 1803, grown to be a village of over a hundred houses with church and court-house and government stores for the Indian department. All the goods for the North-West were landed here from the vessels which brought them from Kingston, and were then sent by portage above the falls to Chippawa.

Fort Chippawa, on the river, a mile and a half above the falls of Niagara, was the end of the carry-

ing place, and was also a transport post. It was sixteen miles from Fort George and it had a block-house and quarters for one officer and thirty-six men, enclosed with palisades which were much decayed and useless for defence. Eighteen miles beyond was Fort Erie. General Hunter, in 1803, had planned a new fort at this place as the old one was in ruins, and had made a report on the subject to Lord Hobart, the secretary of the colonies, but this undertaking was not carried out for some years.

Further west at Amherstburg was another poorly constructed fort. This village was the only British naval station on Lake Erie, and contained over a hundred houses, with a court-house, and stores for the Indian department.

The other military post in this district was Sandwich, nearly opposite Detroit, and sixteen miles distant from Amherstburg. There was a mixed French and English population here, and many American settlers in the neighbourhood who had found their way to this lovely and fertile peninsula —the garden of Canada.

At this time a regiment quartered in Upper Canada was divided into several parts, sometimes hundreds of miles asunder. The posts being on the frontier line, and new roads into the interior of the United States being constantly opened out, every facility was afforded for desertion. The pay of the British soldier was small, the discipline enforced at that time very severe, and by the insidious work of

agents from the neighbouring republic, desertions became very frequent.

Soon after Brock's arrival in Upper Canada, six men of a company of the 49th stationed at York, listened to the tempting proposals held out to them, and with a corporal of the 41st who had been left there in charge of some work, set off across the lake for Niagara. The news of their desertion was brought to Colonel Brock at midnight by the sergeant of the guard. With the promptness that always marked his actions he immediately ordered a boat to be manned by a sergeant and twelve privates of the light company, and with them he started on a night journey across Lake Ontario, a distance of thirty miles.

After a hard pull of eight hours they reached their destination and a search along the shore was made. A few miles from Fort Niagara on the American shore, the renegades were found. They were brought back to York and afterwards confined in the prison cells at Fort George. General Hunter found fault with the midnight expedition across the lake, as he thought the risk Brock had taken in crossing in a small open boat was too great. It was not, however, likely that a Guernsey man, inured to the perils of the coast of the Channel Islands, would hesitate to cross Lake Ontario on a summer night. Even if the dangers had been greater, Colonel Brock was not one to shirk his duty.

Once again he was called upon to undertake another expedition to enforce discipline, and again the strong arm and cool brain were needed. This time it was not desertion alone he had to cope with, but a very serious mutiny among the troops quartered at Fort George, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe, who, by his severe discipline had rendered himself very unpopular. The plan of the mutineers, as was afterwards discovered, was to place the officers in the cells, then to march to Queenston and cross the river into the state of New York. It was said too that the murder of Colonel Sheaffe was contemplated. The discovery of the plot was accidental. A servant of an officer of the Royal Artillery was met on the common by a soldier of the 49th, named Fitzpatrick, who asked him the hour. On being told Fitzpatrick exclaimed, "Thank God, I will not be too late for roll call; if I were that tyrant would give me knapsack drill for a week, but—" with an oath he muttered some threatening words and ran off to the fort. The servant reported the conversation to his master who immediately told Colonel Sheaffe. Fitzpatrick was sent for and questioned. On examination he showed such symptoms of guilt that he was put in a cell in the guard-room. Another soldier named Daly confessed to the conspiracy, and said that he had entered into it by the persuasion of Sergeant Clarke of the 49th who had told him that he and his wife and children

would be much more comfortable in the United States than in the regiment.

Sheaffe sent immediate word of the conspiracy to Colonel Brock, who was then at York. The latter lost no time in hastening to the scene. The mutiny of the Nore in 1796 had taught him that promptness and decision were necessary to prevent an appalling disaster. This was no time for half measures, when the mother country was at war in Europe, and when a wily neighbour was undermining the allegiance of His Majesty's forces in America. Stern and quick must be the remedy. The vessel that brought him the news took him quickly over the lake, and, unannounced, he landed on the beach below the town and walked to the fort. The sentry on duty soon recognized the commanding figure of the colonel and called out the guard, which was commanded, as it happened, by the very sergeant who had been suspected as the instigator of the conspiracy. It was all the work of a few moments. As the guard shouldered arms the sergeant was ordered to come forward and lay down his pike, and to take off his sword and sash. As soon as this was done a corporal named O'Brien was told to bring a pair of handcuffs and put them on the sergeant who was then marched off to the cells. Then came the corporal's turn, for he too was one of those implicated, and in obedience to the stern command his arms and accoutrements were also laid down, and a soldier was ordered to handcuff

him and convey him also to the cells. Brock then sent a young officer to arrest the other malcontents. Twelve men in all were put in irons and sent off to York together with the seven deserters who had been arrested some weeks before.

General Hunter directed that their trial should take place at Quebec. They were found guilty and four of the mutineers and three of the deserters were condemned to be shot. The extreme rigour of their commanding officer, Colonel Sheaffe, was the only plea they made in extenuation of their crime. The sentence was carried out on March 2nd, 1804, at Quebec. The unfortunate men declared publicly that had they continued under the command of Colonel Brock they would have escaped their melancholy end.

At York, when the letter came announcing the execution, the colonel ordered every man under arms, that he might read to them its contents. He then addressed them and said:—"Since I have had the honour to wear the British uniform I have never felt grief like this. It pains me to the heart to think that any member of my regiment should have engaged in a conspiracy which has led to their being shot like so many dogs. . . " We are told that the soldiers who saw the glistening tear and heard the faltering voice of their colonel were so moved by the touching scene that there was not a dry eye among them.

After this melancholy affair Brock assumed com-

mand at Fort George, and all complaints and desertions instantly ceased. He put into practice the more humane methods of treating the common soldier that he had learned in the school of Abercromby and Stewart. The men were allowed, under proper restrictions, to visit the town freely. It was no longer a crime to fish in fatigue dress, and even the sport of shooting the wild pigeons that were in such abundance was allowed, with the proviso that the men should provide their own powder and shot. Under Colonel Sheaffe's discipline the four black holes were always full, but now under a milder rule complaints were unknown.

The mutiny, however, had made such an impression on Colonel Brock that he sought a remedy for the evils that had occasioned it, and his ideas on the subject were embodied in a report which he subsequently sent to the Duke of York.

During the long winter months of 1803-4 at Fort George he had the opportunity of visiting many of the new settlers in the country. He found that without any special merit, they had obtained large grants of land, although some of them had even taken part against England in the revolutionary war. Land at that time was of so little value that on condition of settling, any person, by paying a fee of sixpence an acre, could obtain a grant of two hundred acres.

In order to improve the prospects of soldiers in Canada, Brock, in his report, recommended the establishment of a corps of veterans, who would by

long and faithful service be deserving of the most liberal protection and favour. The men, he thought, might be selected in the first instance from veteran corps already established, and afterwards they might be selected impartially from every regiment in the service. Every year men were discharged who could with propriety be recommended for this corps. Ten companies, each of sixty rank and file with the usual proportion of officers, might be distributed at St. Johns, Chambly, Kingston, York, Fort George and its dependencies, Amherstburg and St. Joseph. Colonel Brock gave a scale of the number of years each soldier should serve in the veteran battalion proportionate to his length of former service. On their discharge he suggested that the men should be located on a large tract of land on the river Credit (west of York) which had been purchased by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter from the Mississaga Indians. He also recommended that they should be furnished with implements of husbandry and rations for a short period. He concluded with these words:—"I have considered the subject only in a military point of view; the advantages arising from the introduction of a number of men into the country attached to government by ties of interest and gratitude and already acquainted with the use of arms, are too obvious in a political light to need any comment. It is highly gratifying to observe the comfortable state of the Loyalists, who, in the year 1784, obtained small tracts of land in Upper Canada.

Their conduct and principles form a striking contrast to those practised and professed generally by the settlers of 1793."

There is no doubt that Colonel Brock was right in his estimate of the character of some of the recent settlers in Upper Canada. They had come, not as Loyalists because they wished to live under the English flag, but because of the easy terms on which they could obtain grants of land. They were still at heart citizens of the United States, and openly sympathized with that country. They formed a rather troublesome element in the beginning of the war of 1812, but were gradually weeded out in the struggle that "tried men's hearts."

It was not only in theory that Brock endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the soldier. He was ever ready with advice and assistance to those under him. One instance may be given in his treatment of Fitz Gibbon, the young sergeant-major of the 49th, in whom he took much interest, and who said he owed everything to him. He tells the story that when stationed at York in 1803, Colonel Brock told him he intended to recommend him for the adjutancy of the regiment, and said: "I not only desire to procure a commission for you, but I also wish that you should qualify yourself to take your position among gentlemen. Here are my books; make good use of them." He often wrote, he said, to the colonel's dictation, and thereby learnt much that was useful to him in after life.

Another reminiscence of the sergeant-major gives a trait of Brock's character that was predominant throughout his career. One day he asked Fitz Gibbon why he had not carried out some order, and received for answer that it was impossible to execute it. "By the Lord Harry, sir," said the colonel in wrath, "do not tell me it is impossible. Nothing should be impossible to a soldier; the word 'impossible' should not be found in a soldier's dictionary."

Some time after, at Quebec, when the sergeant-major was an ensign, he was ordered to take a fatigue party to the *bateau* guard, and bring round to the Lower Town twenty *bateaux* to embark troops for Montreal. The tide had fallen and there were two hundred yards of mud over which it looked impossible to drag the *bateaux*, which were large, heavy, flat boats. He thought he would return, but it suddenly occurred to him that the colonel would ask: "Did you try?" He therefore gave the word, "Front!" and said to the soldiers: "I think it impossible for us to put these *bateaux* afloat, but you know it will not do for me to tell Colonel Brock so, unless we try it. Let us therefore try. There are the boats. I am sure if it be possible for men to put them afloat you will do it. Go at them." In half an hour the work was done. Thus the indomitable spirit of the commander was infused into the men who served under him.

CHAPTER VII

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

IN 1805 Brock was again quartered in Quebec. In August of that year, General Hunter, the acting lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada and commander-in-chief was taken ill and died at Quebec, just after the departure on leave of Sir Robert Milnes. His death placed both provinces in a peculiar position. There was neither a governor, commander-in-chief, nor lieutenant-governor in the Canadas. Nor was there a chief justice, for Chief Justice Elmsley, who had succeeded Osgoode at Quebec, had died rather suddenly, while Chief Justice Cochrane, who had taken the former's place in Upper Canada, had been drowned with the solicitor-general and other members of the court by the foundering of the *Speedy* in Lake Ontario. The country was therefore deprived of almost all its leading officials. To meet the emergency Colonel Bowes of the 6th Regiment, as senior officer, had assumed the military authority and Mr. Thomas Dunn, president of the council, had been appointed civil administrator on the departure of Sir Robert Milnes. In Upper Canada, Mr. Peter Russell, senior councillor, called a meeting of the legislative council, and Mr. Alexander Grant, better known as

Commodore Grant, was chosen acting lieutenant-governor. Alexander Grant was a native of Inverness, Scotland, and had served in Amherst's army, under whom he had been appointed to command a small fleet on Lake Erie. His home was at Grosse Point, above Detroit.

In October, 1805, Lieutenant-Colonel Brock was made a full colonel and shortly afterwards returned to England on leave. While there he seized the opportunity to lay before the Duke of York, then commander-in-chief, the scheme he had drawn up for the improvement of the army in Canada. The report was favourably received and some of its recommendations were afterwards carried out.

During the absence of Brock in Canada, some changes had come to his family. His eldest brother John, the brevet lieutenant-colonel of the 81st, and a soldier of great promise, had been killed in 1801 in a duel at the Cape of Good Hope. The second brother had long before been killed in service at Bâton Rouge, on the Mississippi. The third brother, Daniel de Lisle, was now a very important man in Guernsey. In 1795 he had been elected a jurat of the royal court and had been sent as its representative to London in connection with the trade and certain ancient privileges of the island. He was afterwards for many years lieutenant-bailiff or chief magistrate of Guernsey. The next brother, William, was a merchant residing in London and engaged in trade with the Baltic. He was married but had no

children, and had taken the keenest interest in his brother Isaac's career, advancing the money when it was required for his various steps. Savery Brock, younger than Isaac, was the one whose exploits have been already related. Irving, the next brother, had literary tastes, was a clever translator, and a writer of pamphlets, some of which were of great merit. The two sisters were both married. Elizabeth to John E. Tupper, of Guernsey; Mary to Thomas Potenger, of Compton, Berkshire. Isaac Brock was tenderly devoted to his family as his many letters show, and his sojourn once more among them filled his heart with joy.

The years 1804–5 had been eventful ones in Europe. In May, 1804, the first consul had been made by "the grace of God and the constitution of the republic," emperor of the French, and henceforth dropped the name of Bonaparte for that of Napoleon. He was crowned on December 2nd at Paris by the Pope, and afterwards at Milan as king of Italy. In England Pitt was once more at the helm as prime minister.

During the summer of 1805 Napoleon had assembled a large force on the shores of the English Channel with a flotilla at Boulogne, and had given to this force the significant name of the "Army of England." The invasion of that country and the plunder of London were confidently talked of among his soldiers.

Austria was in vain remonstrating against his

occupation of Italy, while the Czar of Russia and Gustavus of Sweden were also protesting against his encroachments on the territory of the weaker powers. A new coalition was now formed against him of England, Russia, Austria and Sweden. Prussia remained neutral. General Mack, who had shown his incapacity in 1798, was unfortunately placed at the head of the Austrian army, while the more capable Archduke Charles commanded in Italy where General Massena led the French army. With one of those sudden coups for which he was famous, Napoleon withdrew his "Army of England" to march to the Rhine and ordered other troops from Holland, France and Hanover to meet them there. This formed what was called the "Grand Army," commanded in person by the emperor. No coalition was able to withstand his victorious progress. But England held the sea.

On October 17th, 1805, General Mack was surrounded at Ulm, and surrendered with twenty-five thousand men. The French entered Vienna on November 15th. The Russian army under the Emperor Alexander in person had assembled in Moravia. Being joined by some Austrian divisions it amounted to about eighty thousand men. Then came the great battle of Austerlitz on December 2nd. Both armies were about equal in numbers but the Russians extended their line too much. The slaughter among the allies was terrific and thousands were drowned trying to cross the half frozen lakes in the rear.

"Roll up the map of Europe," said the dying Pitt, when he heard of these disasters, "it will not be wanted these ten years." After his crushing defeat the czar had an interview with Napoleon when an armistice was agreed upon and the Russians were allowed to return to their own country. On December 27th peace was signed between Austria and France, the former giving up Dalmatia and the Venetian provinces to Italy.

While these events were occurring in Europe the feeling in the United States against England was becoming more and more bitter. The news from America was so threatening that Colonel Brock, who was in Guernsey, determined to go back to Canada before the expiration of his leave. He left London, never to return, on June 26th, 1806, and sailed from Cork in the *Lady Saumarez*, a Guernsey vessel well manned and armed as a letter of marque bound to Quebec. His sister wrote on the 27th, "Isaac left town last evening for Milford Haven. Dear fellow; Heaven knows when we shall see him again!"

At the time of Brock's second arrival in Canada the civil government of the Lower Province was still administered by President Dunn,[1] but as Colonel Bowes of the 6th Regiment had given up his command in order to go on active service in Europe, Colonel Brock succeeded to the command of the

[1] Dunn used the title of president in virtue of his position in the council. He was at this time acting governor.

troops in both provinces. Eight companies of the 49th were at this time quartered in Quebec under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe.[1] The latter had learned a lesson from the melancholy affair of the mutiny at Fort George, and Colonel Brock reported on the good order and discipline that prevailed in the garrison.

Besides the 49th there was quartered in Quebec part of the 100th Regiment, consisting then nearly altogether of raw recruits. The men were mostly Protestants from the North of Ireland, robust, active and good looking, and Brock reported that the order and discipline of so young a corps was remarkable. They were under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray. A terrible disaster had overtaken the regiment the year before. On its way to Quebec on October 21st, 1805 (the day that the battle of Trafalgar was fought) it was wrecked off the coast of Newfoundland. Major Bertram, three captains, six lieutenants, the assistant surgeon and about two hundred men perished. Part of the 100th was now quartered in Montreal under Major Hamilton. The 41st Regiment was scattered throughout Upper Canada at Kingston, Fort George, Amherstburg and St. Joseph. Lieutenant-Colonel Procter commanded at Fort George.

[1] A contemporary said of Lieutenant-Colonel Sheaffe:—"He was kind, benevolent and religious, but these sentiments were, in his early days, nearly, if not entirely overruled by his extreme ideas of military authority."

FORTIFICATIONS OF QUEBEC

The first thing that occupied Colonel Brock's attention in his new position as commander-in-chief was the repair of the fortifications of Quebec. Something had been done to restore them in Sir Guy Carleton's time, and again during the administration of Sir Robert Prescott, but the walls on the western side were old and decayed, and not in a condition to stand a heavy fire. Hospital accommodation was also needed, and Brock wrote at once to the secretary of the colonies, the Rt. Hon. W. Windham, representing that the sick had to be placed in hired houses of the most miserable description, unfitted to keep out the cold of winter or the heat of summer. Brock advised the construction of a hospital to cost about three thousand pounds. The quarters then occupied by the various offices of government, both civil and military, were an extensive building on the opposite side of the square to that on which stood the old and dilapidated Château St. Louis. The part used by the governors as a residence contained a suite of apartments wherein balls and entertainments were given. The building was of very plain exterior, and formed part of the curtain that ran between the two exterior bastions of the old fortress which covered about four acres of ground. South-west of the Château was an excellent and well-stocked garden; for, cold as the winters were, the hot summers ripened quickly all sorts of fruits and vegetables. The monastery of the Jesuits near by had been

turned into barracks and was a spacious stone building three stories high. It had been in former years surrounded by large and beautiful gardens. The bishop's palace, too, had been taken over by the government, and was used as offices for the legislative council, the executive council, and the House of Assembly. The latter met in what was once the chapel, a room sixty-five feet long by thirty-six feet wide. Forty acres around Cape Diamond were reserved for military use. A house, once the residence of Chief Justice Elmsley, had been converted into barracks for officers. During the winter of 1806, Brock occupied himself with plans for the fortification of Quebec, and a great deal of correspondence took place on the subject between him and the acting governor, Mr. Dunn. He represented to the latter that the reserves of the Crown were being encroached upon by the inhabitants, and that a great portion of the ground in question would be required for the erection of new and extensive works. He referred particularly to the enclosures and buildings on the glacis in front of St. John's Gate, and said that if these encroachments were permitted, it might at some future day endanger the safety of the place.

A long correspondence also took place about a piece of vacant land that was needed as a parade ground for the troops, of which there were then about a thousand in garrison. The ground in question was the garden of the Jesuits adjoining the

barracks, and had been seized by the Crown on the death of Father Cazot, the last of the order in Canada. It was a standing grievance with the French Canadians that this property had been appropriated by the government. The correspondence between President Dunn and Colonel Brock was rather a heated one, and the latter laid the case before the authorities in England. He tells the story of how he had asked permission of the president to use this vacant ground for drilling the troops, and how he had cleared it of weeds on the understanding that the president, although he could not officially allow it to be converted into a parade ground, would shut his eyes and not interfere. The troops had paraded there and at first no notice was taken, but a few days afterwards a letter was received from the acting governor, expressing his disapprobation of the proceedings, and denying that he had given his tacit consent to the measure. It was one of the not unusual differences of opinion between the civil and military authorities. Mr. Dunn had lived for a long time among the inhabitants of the country, and had to consider their prejudices.

Brock had his own way, however, for a few years later a writer mentions these once beautiful gardens as a place for the exercise of the troops, and laments the fall of the stately trees that from the foundation of the city had been the original tenants of the ground.

At this time, 1807, Mr. Francis Gore was lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. He had entered the 44th Regiment as an ensign in 1787 when eighteen years of age, and had been quartered as a subaltern with Isaac Brock, both in Jersey and Guernsey. Fate had once more thrown them together. After the peace of Amiens in 1802, Gore had retired from the army, but when hostilities had broken out again he was appointed inspecting field officer of volunteers with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He succeeded so well in his new position that Pitt made him governor of Bermuda, and from that post he succeeded General Hunter as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. He did not, however, supersede Colonel Brock as commander-in-chief, and military returns were sent from the Upper Province to Quebec during the winter by Indians hired for this purpose. Sometimes it took months for communications between the two provinces. There was also some correspondence about Indian affairs, and Colonel Brock announced that although his predecessor, Colonel Bowes, had given directions about the management of Indians in Upper Canada, he intended himself to follow His Majesty's instructions of 1796, and leave the sole control of Indian affairs in that province to the lieutenant-governor.

As soon as Colonel Brock assumed command of the troops he found it necessary to look into the accounts of the deputy commissary-general. They

were in great confusion, a sum of thirty-six thousand three hundred and fifty pounds sterling not being accounted for. The commissary when called upon to explain the large deficit objected to the rank of Colonel Brock, and wrote that he did not think any authority then in Canada was competent to give orders by which his duties and responsibilities under the instructions of the lords commissioners of His Majesty's treasury could be in any manner altered. Colonel Brock looked upon his position as commander-in-chief in a different light, and replied:—"In respect to the last paragraph of your letter, relating to the two characters (the president of Lower, and the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada), whom you consider as more competent than myself to exercise authority, it will be time to investigate the question when either of them shall express a wish to assume the command, but in the meantime I shall exercise it with promptitude and decision."

There certainly was need for an enquiry, for it was found that no examination had been made in the stores account since 1788, nor in the fuel account since 1796. The enquiry resulted in the retirement of the officer in charge, who was found to be insolvent. Colonel Brock was most careful and precise himself in money affairs, and required all those under him to be rigidly correct in the expenditure of the public money.

He writes in January, 1807, to Colonel Glasgow,

president of the board of accounts:—"I have to request the board to continue diligently to ascertain the sufficiency of every authority for expenditure before it sanctions the smallest charge. . . . . When expense is incurred without the most urgent cause, and more particularly when large sums are stated to have been expended in anticipation of services not yet authorized, my duty strictly compels me to withhold my approval to all such irregular proceedings."

There was another and very important branch of the service in Canada which required supervision, namely, the marine department, and it was to Brock's foresight that Great Britain owed her supremacy of the lakes when the war of 1812 broke out. He ordered the building and outfitting of vessels and *bateaux* for the lakes and rivers of both the Upper and Lower Province. He also directed that an assistant quartermaster-general should be stationed at Amherstburg and another at Kingston, the former to superintend the repairs and stores of the boats on Lake Erie, the latter those on Lake Ontario. Colonel Brock ordered the following number of boats to be kept in constant repair at the several military posts: At Quebec, six; Three Rivers, two; Fort William Henry, four; Montreal, seven; St. Johns, two; Kingston, four; Fort George, twelve; York, three; Amherstburg, four.

In September, 1806, Charles Fox, who had always been friendly and conciliatory in his dealings

with the United States, died, and what was known as "The ministry of all the talents" was dissolved. Early in 1807, the Duke of Portland's ministry was formed, of which Spencer Perceval and George Canning were the leading spirits. In France, Talleyrand was still foreign minister, although his influence was waning, and he no longer approved of Napoleon's methods. He had been foreign minister under the Directory when he attached himself to the growing power of the First Consul; and while the great diplomat remained at his side, Napoleon's career was one of continued success. Soon after this date, as Prince of Benevento, Talleyrand disappears from the field of politics.

In America, Jefferson was assisted in his second administration by Madison and Gallatin, while Monroe and Pinkney and Armstrong were his ministers abroad.

News came early in 1807 of Napoleon's further triumphs. The victories of Jena and Auerstadt followed Austerlitz, and on October 27th Napoleon entered Berlin, and from that city on November 21st issued the famous Berlin decrees against British commerce. They began by charging that England disregarded the law of nations, that she made non-combatants prisoners of war, confiscated private property, blockaded unfortified harbours and considered places as blockaded although she had not a single ship before them.

By the Berlin decrees it was proclaimed that the

British Isles were in a state of blockade. Intercourse with them was prohibited. All British subjects within French authority were to be held as prisoners of war. All British property, private and public, was declared prize of war. No British ships were to be admitted to any port of France or her allies. Every vessel eluding this rule was to be confiscated. These decrees not only affected England but struck at the roots of neutral rights and of American commerce with Europe. The motive was obvious. Stung by his repeated defeats at sea, and unable to cope with his great enemy on the ocean, Napoleon had turned his attention to the utter destruction of the trade of Great Britain. At this moment the latter had not one ally on the continent of Europe.

The treaty with America that had been under consideration for some time, had been signed in London by Monroe and Pinkney on behalf of the United States. It had, however, been repudiated by the president, and the unfriendly feeling towards England had been still further increased by the affair of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake* on June 22nd, 1807. This arose from the desertion in March of certain seamen from the sloop *Halifax* commanded by Lord Townshend, while lying in Hampton Roads, Virginia. One of its boats and five men with a petty officer had been sent on some duty. The men rose against their officer, and threatened to throw him overboard. They then rowed to shore, landed at

Norfolk, Virginia, and immediately enlisted on board the *Chesapeake*. On a formal demand being made for the men to be given up, the municipal authorities refused to interfere, although in similar cases of desertion at Gibraltar and elsewhere, British municipal assistance had been rendered to the United States. Three deserters from H.M.S. *Melampus* were also alleged to have enlisted on the *Chesapeake*.

On June 21st, the *Leopard*, under command of Captain Humphreys met the *Chesapeake*, under the command of Commodore Barron, and demanded the British deserters who were on board. On the latter's refusal to have his crew mustered, the *Leopard* fired a broadside doing considerable damage. The *Chesapeake*, not being in a condition to resist, then struck, and the captain offered to give her up as a prize, which Captain Humphreys refused, saying that he had executed the order of his commander and had nothing more to do. Four deserters were brought as prisoners on board the *Leopard*, two more were killed by her fire and one jumped overboard. The responsibility for the order rested on Admiral Berkeley, then stationed at Halifax.

Intense excitement was caused by this event and the president issued a proclamation ordering all armed British vessels to depart from the harbours of the United States. In England, Canning, who was then secretary of war, had some correspondence

on the subject with Monroe, the American representative. The British minister expressed regret and offered to make reparation if it should be proved such was due. Monroe, in pursuance of his instructions, demanded that the men taken from the *Chesapeake* should be restored, the offenders punished, that a special mission should be sent to the United States to announce the reparation, and that all impressment from merchant vessels should cease. Canning absolutely refused to consider the latter clause. He also asked whether the proclamation of the president as to British ships of war was authentic, or would be withdrawn on the disavowal of the act which led to it. The nationality of the men seized, he added, must also be considered, not in justification of their seizure, but in the estimate of the redress asked. As to impressment, Canning said, the mode of regulating the practice might be considered, but if Monroe's instructions left him no discretion it was useless to discuss the matter.

Then followed a proclamation by the government regarding the desertion of British seamen. Naval officers were ordered to seize them from merchant vessels without unnecessary violence. All who returned to their allegiance would be pardoned. Those who served on ships of war at enmity with Great Britain, would be punished with extreme severity.

Just before this proclamation was issued the Non-

importation Act, which had been passed in April by congress, came into force. Then followed the president's embargo on United States vessels,[1] which continued all through 1808. In the meantime Admiral Berkeley had been recalled, though public opinion in England took his side, and recognized the right of search in ships of war for seamen who had deserted in order to enlist in the United States service. As to the *Chesapeake* affair, Mr. Rose, vice-president of the board of trade, was sent by Canning to negotiate at Washington. He was empowered to state that the three men taken were to be discharged, but the right was reserved of reclaiming from American vessels such as were proved to be deserters or natural born subjects of England. As the attack had been disavowed an allowance would be made to the widows and orphans of those killed who could be proved not to be British subjects; no severe proceedings were asked to be taken against Commodore Barron, but a demand was to be made for the formal disavowal on the part of his government of his conduct in encouraging deserters. Negotiations failed, however, as neither party would yield on several important points, such as power of impressment, the president's proclamation and the

[1] Erskine, the British minister at Washington, wrote officially that President Jefferson's embargo was not intended as a measure of hostility against Great Britain, but as a precaution against the capture of United States vessels by France.

disavowal of Commodore Barron's action. The *Chesapeake* affair therefore remained as an unadjusted national dispute.

All through that year on the borders of Canada the expectation was that muttered threats would turn to blows, and that those who would defend the land must make ready. In Quebec, Brock, who was still in command, aided the administration by zeal and energy, and used all the resources in his power to make the fortress of Quebec impregnable. In August the militia were called out, one fifth to be prepared to march wherever required. In spite of the opinions expressed by some of the English officials, the French Canadians turned out with alacrity. Secretary Ryland, their bitter enemy, was one who expressed himself as doubtful of their loyalty. Colonel Brock wrote in reply that he was not prepared to hear that the population of the province, instead of affording him ready and effectual support, might probably add to the number of his enemies. He was confident that should an emergency arise, voluntary offers of service would be made by a considerable number of brave and loyal subjects. "Even now," he said, "several gentlemen are ready to come forward and enrol into companies, men whose fidelity can be relied on."

The administrator, Mr. Dunn, also expressed himself as confident of the loyalty of the French Canadians. He wrote this testimony as to their

conduct, "The president also feels himself justified in asserting that a more ardent devotion to His Majesty's person and government had never been witnessed in any part of the British dominions." Monseigneur Plessis, the Catholic Bishop of Quebec, was always a staunch supporter of English rule. In common with the majority of the priests and leading Roman Catholics, he probably feared that their church would be more in danger if the "Bostonais" as they were called, became masters of the country than if it remained under England. The Bishop's *mandement* to his flock emphasized his loyalty:—"You have not waited until this province should be menaced by an invasion nor even until war should be declared, to give proofs of your zeal and of your good-will in the public service. At a suspicion even, at the first appearance of a rupture with the neighbouring states, you have acted as it was your duty to do—ready to undertake anything, to sacrifice everything, rather than to expose yourselves to a change of government, or to lose the inestimable advantage that your present condition assures to you." In every parish, as fathers and sons mustered for service, Te Deums were sung and Psalms were chanted, and all along the banks of the St. Lawrence the people of an alien tongue and race and religion rallied round the standard of the English king.

CHAPTER VIII

OLD QUEBEC

CAPE DIAMOND, or the rock of Quebec, rises sheer from the river St. Lawrence to a height of three hundred and forty-five feet. The citadel on its highest point presented in the beginning of the nineteenth century a formidable combination of powerful works, whence a strong wall, supported by small batteries in different places, ran to the edge of the precipice, along which it was continued to the gateway leading to the Lower Town. This gateway was defended by heavy cannon, and the approach to it, up Mountain Street, was both enfiladed and flanked by many guns of large calibre. Thence a line of defence connected with the grand battery, a work of great strength, armed with a formidable train of 24-pounders, and commanding the basin and passage of the river, which was here eighteen hundred and thirty-seven yards broad. From the battery another line was carried on beyond the Hope and Palace Gates, both of which were protected by similar defences to those of the Lower Town Gate until the line formed a junction with the bastion of the Côteau de Palais.[1] In the Lower Town, on the west side of

[1] Bouchette's "Topography of Canada."

St. Nicholas Street, were, in 1808, the ruins of the intendant's palace, once of much importance. In 1775 its ruin was completed, for when the Americans under Arnold blockaded the city, they established a body of troops in it, but were dislodged from their quarters by shells, which set it on fire and nearly consumed it.

The Castle of St. Louis was of stone, built near the edge of the precipice about a hundred feet below the summit of the cape, and two hundred and fifty feet above the river. It was supported towards the steep side by a solid work of masonry, rising nearly half the height of the edifice, and was surrounded by a spacious gallery which gave a most commanding view of the river and surrounding country. The Château was a hundred and sixty-two feet long, forty-five feet broad, and three stories high. In the direction of the cape it had the appearance of being much more lofty. It was built shortly after Quebec was fortified in 1721, but was neglected for a number of years, suffered to go to decay, and had long ceased to be the residence of the governor-general. At the time when Brock was commandant it was used only for government offices, but in 1808 parliament passed a resolution for repairing and beautifying it, and seven thousand pounds were voted for the purpose. An additional sum of seven thousand pounds was, however, required to complete the work.

Sir James Craig was the first who occupied it

after its restoration. It was in October, 1807, that this veteran officer arrived in Canada as governor-general and commander-in-chief. He was then about fifty-eight years of age, and had been constantly on service since the age of fifteen, when he entered the army. He had served in Canada in 1775 during the invasion of Montgomery and Arnold, and had been in command of the troops that had pursued the Americans in their disastrous retreat. He had been engaged afterwards under Burgoyne throughout his unfortunate campaign, and in the after events of the Revolutionary War. In 1794 he became a major-general, and was, the following year, at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. He then did good service in India, and was promoted to be lieutenant-general in 1801. In 1802 he was placed in charge of the eastern district in England, and in 1805 was sent to the Mediterranean, where his health broke down. Believing that he had recovered he accepted the position of governor-general of Canada. In many respects it was an unfortunate appointment, for, experienced as he was in military affairs, he was lacking in tact and political knowledge, and he came to the country prejudiced to an unreasonable extent against the majority of the people he had come to govern. He had an utter disbelief in the loyalty of the French Canadians, and his treatment of them bore bitter fruit in after years. It was owing partly to his mistaken policy that the misunderstandings and ill-feeling arose

which led ultimately to the rebellion of 1837. His views were strengthened by the hitherto veiled opinions of most of the official class in Quebec, and the constant daily machinations of Ryland, who filled again, as in preceding administrations, the post of private secretary to the governor, and clerk of the council. Ryland was certainly not a very suitable secretary for the governor of a country whose inhabitants were largely French and Catholic. In one of his letters the secretary wrote that he despised and hated the Catholic religion, for it degraded and embruted human reason, and became the curse of every country wherein it existed. His pet scheme, to which he tried to commit the governor, was to break the power of the Roman Catholic church by taking away its endowments, and by making the priesthood dependent on executive authority.

Late in 1806 a newspaper named *Le Canadien* had made its appearance in Quebec. It was published in French, and bore for its motto: "*Nos institutions, notre langue, et nos lois.*" There was little or no antagonism between the French and English inhabitants of the province when it was founded, and its constitution simply claimed the freedom of British subjects, or in its own language, "*La liberté d'un Anglais, qui est à présent celle d'un Canadien.*" The newspaper, however, appealed to race prejudices. It was the organ of the majority of the legislative assembly, and claimed for that assembly

a power that was not given to it by the constitution. The Quebec *Gazette*, the Quebec *Mercury*, and the Montreal *Gazette* had hitherto been the only newspapers in the province, and the editors of all had fallen under the displeasure of the assembly, which had ordered the publisher of the latter to be arrested, while the editor of the *Mercury* only escaped incarceration by offering an apology. The offence was that these journals had censured the vote of the majority of the popular assembly on a jail tax, which was then a burning question. It was little wonder that the wrath of the Gallo-Canadians was roused, for in one of its articles the *Mercury* thus expressed its opinion: "This province is far too French for a British colony. Whether we be in a state of peace or war, it is absolutely necessary that we exert all our efforts, by every avowable means, to oppose the increase of the French and the augmentation of their influence. After forty-seven years possession, it is now fitting that the province become truly British."

Sir James Craig's first duty on his arrival was, of course, to consider the defence of Canada, for the hostile feeling in the United States was still growing, and had been increased by the orders-in-council that England had passed in November in retaliation for the Berlin decrees. These orders refused to neutrals the right of trading from one hostile port to another, and bore heavily upon the profitable carrying trade of the United States.

Before Sir James Craig's arrival, Brock had petitioned the government for the means to place the fortifications of Quebec in what he considered a proper condition. He said he would require from six hundred to one thousand men every day for six weeks or two months to complete the defences. From the correspondence it is shown that the president-in-council considered that embodying the militia according to law was all that the civil government could undertake to do. Brock wrote to Colonel Gordon on September 6th, 1807, that he was expecting hostilities to break out at any moment, and that President Dunn had taken no precautionary measures except to order one-fifth of the militia—about ten thousand men—to be in readiness to march on the shortest notice. In spite of the lack of coöperation on the part of the government, repairs and additions had been made to the fortifications under Colonel Brock's superintendence. Amongst other things, he had caused a battery of eight 36-pounders to be raised sixteen feet upon the "cavalier" in the centre of the citadel, so as to command the opposite heights. This was known at first as "Brock's Battery," but the name was afterwards altered by Sir James Craig to "King's Battery." "Thinking," as Brock good-humouredly writes to his brother, "that anything so very preëminent should be distinguished by the most exalted appellation — the greatest compliment that he could pay my judgment."

Volunteering was going on with spirit as the following letter from Brock to his friend James Cuthbert, of Berthier,[1] shows. He writes October 12th, 1807:—"You may well suppose that the principal subject of conversation at headquarters is the military state of the country. I have been careful, in justice to you, to mention to Sir James Craig the public spirit you have manifested in forming a company from among the inhabitants of your seigniory, without the least pecuniary or other assistance from government. You must be aware that in any future general arrangement it will become an essential object with government to secure a more substantial hold on the service of the

[1] The James Ross Cuthbert of this letter was the son of the Hon. James Cuthbert who had served in the navy as lieutenant of the flagship at the siege of Carthagena, in 1721. He afterwards entered the 42nd Regiment on its formation. He was present in the 15th Regiment at the capture of Louisbourg and served under Wolfe at Quebec, carrying to England the despatches of Brigadier-General Murray to whom he was aide-de-camp.

After the conquest, having left the army and become a settler in Canada, he was appointed by Lord Dorchester one of the members of the first legislative council. In the invasion of 1775, he was particularly active in visiting the American camp at Sorel, was taken prisoner by the Americans and sent in irons to Albany. During his absence they burned his manor house and destroyed his property. His son, James Ross Cuthbert, married an American, a daughter of Doctor Rush, of Philadelphia. A sister of this lady was married to a Captain Manners of the 49th.

Brock writes of them both to his sister-in-law in England, begging her to call on Mrs. Manners, who was then living at Barnet. He says, "Her sister Mrs. Ross Cuthbert, a charming little creature, makes her husband, (my most intimate friend and with whom I pass a great part of my leisure hours) a most happy man."

men than their mere promise, and as it is intended to give every possible latitude to their prejudices, and to study in everything their convenience, it is thought no regulation to that effect can operate to diminish the number of voluntary offers. As you have been the first to set such a laudable example, Sir James thinks it but just that Berthier should take the lead in any new project he may adopt, and he desires me to ask your opinion in regard to the following points." Then followed the proposals of government with regard to arms, clothing and pay, and the rank of the officers.

Before the arrival of Sir James Craig, Brock wrote that voluntary offers of service had been made by numbers of the inhabitants to form themselves into corps of cavalry, artillery and infantry, at little or no expense to government if they were furnished with arms, but these offers had not been encouraged by President Dunn. The fact was, as the minutes of council show, there were no means at the disposal of the executive for equipping, arming, and paying troops. The militia, when embodied, were entitled to receive the same pay and allowance as the king's troops. The minute of council reads:—"No funds for this purpose are at the disposal of the civil government, but have invariably been provided by the commander-in-chief of the forces. The civil government is not by law authorized to provide for the furnishing of carts or horses for works as proposed."

At this time Lieutenant-Governor Gore had been supplied with four thousand muskets from the king's arsenal at Quebec, and with various military stores. This left at Quebec only seven thousand muskets for the militia of Lower Canada. As to the temper of the militia of the province, Brock says in a letter to his friend, Colonel Gordon: "The Canadians have unquestionably shown a great willingness upon this occasion to be trained, and I make not the least doubt, would oppose with vigour any invasion of the Americans. How far the same sentiments would actuate them were a French force to join I will not undertake to say; at any rate I feel that every consideration of prudence and policy ought to determine me to keep in Quebec a sufficient force to secure its safety. The number of troops that could be detached would be small, notwithstanding a great deal might be done, in conjunction with the militia, in a country intersected in every direction by rivers, deep ravines, and lined at intervals on both sides of the roads by thick woods."

Another proposal to raise a volunteer corps among the Scottish settlers of Glengarry had been made by Colonel John Macdonell. This was forwarded by Brock to the secretary of state. Brock strongly advocated the formation of the corps, as he said at that time there were only three hundred militia trained to arms in both the Canadas. He also advocated the appointment of the Rev. Alexander

Macdonell as chaplain of the corps. The men were all Highland Catholics, and were very much attached to him. He had acted as the chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles during the rebellion in Ireland in 1796, who had emigrated to Canada under his leadership in 1803, and had settled in the eastern district of Upper Canada. Brock thought the corps would be soon completed and would form a nursery from which the army might draw a number of hardy recruits. It was some time, however, before this was done.

At the close of the year 1807, there was a feeling of greater security in Canada, for public feeling in the states had calmed. Brock writes on December 13th, to his friend Ross Cuthbert:—"You will do me the justice to believe that I did not lose a moment in laying the clear and satisfactory statement you sent me of the constitution and character of the volunteer company under your command before the governor. That something will shortly be done there is no doubt, although the prevailing idea here is against a war with our neighbours. People imagine the Americans will not dare to engage in the contest, but as I consider their councils to be directed solely by French influence, it is impossible to say where it will lead them."

The French influence feared by Brock was still further to be exercised the following year, when Napoleon, by every means in his power, endeavoured to force on a war between the United States and Great Britain.

CHAPTER IX

AFFAIRS IN EUROPE, 1808

EARLY in 1808, Colonel Brock left Quebec to take command in Montreal. Shortly afterwards he was appointed acting brigadier-general by Sir James Craig, an appointment which was confirmed in September. In a letter to his brother, Brock wrote that, although General Ferguson had been newly appointed major-general, he thought he would not likely come, as was intended, to Canada, but that he (Brock) would succeed him both in rank and command at Quebec. Montreal, in 1808, was both a lively and a hospitable place. The magnates of the North-West Company were established there, and entertained with a lavishness that was not to be found elsewhere. The fame of the Beaver Club has remained unrivalled in Canada.

Montreal, the old Ville Marie, once the fortified Indian stronghold of Hochelaga, was founded in 1642 by Maisonneuve. Soon afterwards the hospital or Hôtel Dieu was established by Madame de Bouillon, and in 1650, the cathedral of Notre Dame was founded by Marguerite de Bourgeois. Montreal can therefore claim an antiquity almost equal to that of Quebec.

For more than fifty years a struggle continued

between the French settlers and their Indian foes. At one most critical time in 1660, the whole island, up to the palisades that surrounded the town, was swept by war parties, and only the sacrifice of Dollard (sometimes called Daulac) and his seventeen associates, saved the place. In 1665 the Marquis de Tracy arrived with the Carignan Regiment and established forts at Ste. Thérèse, Sorel, and Chambly, naming the two latter places after officers in his regiment.

Montreal soon became the centre of the great fur trade with the North-West. Unlike its sister city, Quebec, whose narrow, steep streets with the bristling fortifications that towered above, kept the characteristics of a century before, Montreal, by 1808, had already put on the appearance of a modern town. The old wall that had once surrounded it had been removed in 1801. On the banks of the river St. Lawrence, which flowed around it, were fine warehouses in which were stored the costly skins destined for the markets of Frankfort and St. Petersburg. There were colleges and churches and taverns, too, of no mean repute, and scattered here and there were the fine mansions and spacious gardens of the "Lords of the North."

Here lived James McGill, to whom the Montreal of to-day owes its famous university. He had a beautiful house on the slope of Mount Royal, which he bequeathed with an endowment of ten thousand pounds to trustees for the purpose of

establishing an English college—the first in Canada. Here also lived William McGillivray and Simon McTavish, whose names are familiar in the annals of the "great company."

Brock was quartered at the Château de Ramezay, then much out of repair. When Montreal was occupied by the Americans in 1776, this had been the headquarters of the leaders of the invasion. Benjamin Franklin, Bishop Carroll, and Mr. Chase, when they came from congress on their mission to the French Canadians, had also been sheltered by its walls.

General Brock, with the *bonhomie* that was natural to him, seems to have entered very heartily into the gaieties of the place. His friend, Colonel Thornton, writes to him from Quebec, "You ought never to feel uneasy about your friends, for in your kindness and hospitality no want of comfort can ever be felt by them; in this I am fully supported by all the accounts from Montreal."

News came at this time that Sir George Prevost had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and had also been made second in command to Sir James Craig in North America. He arrived in Halifax in January, 1808, bringing with him the 7th, 8th, and 23rd Regiments of Foot.

During this year there seems to have been very little correspondence between General Brock and his family. He complains to one of his brothers that although he had written to all of them since

navigation opened, he had heard only from Irving, "who, to do him justice, is the most attentive and regular correspondent amongst you." It was not always the fault of the correspondents that letters from England were so few and far between, for each vessel now on the high seas was liable to capture, and sometimes even when the coveted mail did arrive, an accident, such as the upsetting of a canoe, would deprive the colony of the longed-for home news. Official letters from England by way of Halifax and Quebec took four and sometimes six months to reach Toronto. There was only irregular communication between that place and Montreal, and it took a month—sometimes longer—for the carriage of letters.

Brock, in his letter, tells his brother that he is getting on pretty well at Montreal, although "the place in summer loses the advantage it had over Quebec in winter." One thing he rejoices in—"not a desertion for sixteen months in the 49th, except Hogan, Savery's former servant. He was servant to Major Glegg, at Niagara, when a fair damsel persuaded him to this act of madness."

Brock writes in July from Montreal to his friend Cuthbert as to the equipment of the volunteer force he had raised: "Be assured the general has very substantial reasons for objecting to any issue of arms at this time. Were your corps the sole consideration, be satisfied he would not hesitate a moment, but he cannot show you such marked

preference without exciting a degree of jealousy which might occasion unpleasant discussions. I am sorry you have deprived yourself of the very handsome dagger your partiality induced you to send me. No such proof was needed to convince me of your friendship. We have not a word of intelligence here more than what the Quebec papers give. The Americans appear to me to be placed in a curious and ridiculous predicament. War with that republic is now out of the question, and I trust we shall consider well before we admit them as allies."

A letter from Sir James Craig to Lord Castlereagh, of August 4th, gives the possible reason why he delayed equipping Cuthbert's company, and shows that the prejudices he had formed thirty years before were still strong. He says: "The militia have hitherto been only contemplated in theory, except in the town of Quebec. Lord Dorchester could not assemble any in 1775. In the following year I commanded the largest body ever brought together, but I was then in pursuit of a flying enemy. Since then no attempt to assemble them has been made. The Canadians of to-day are not warlike; they like to make a boast of their militia service, but all dislike the subordination and constraint. If the *seigneurs* possessed their old influence it might be different. Lawyers and notaries have now sprung into notice, and with them insubordination. The members returned to the new House consist of fifteen lawyers, fourteen farmers, and

only seven *seigneurs*. In the event of having to contend with a French force no help is to be expected from this province. On the contrary, arms in their hands would be dangerous. They are French at heart yet."

From the time of his arrival Sir James Craig was possessed with the idea that the French Canadians, their leaders especially, were hostile to British suzerainty, and were to be distrusted in all things. At his elbow was the partisan secretary, always magnifying local disputes, and increasing his suspicion of hidden conspiracies. However, at the opening of parliament in January, 1808, the governor's address was conciliatory. He spoke warmly of the zeal and the loyalty of the militia, and said that all appearances gave promise that if the colony were attacked it would be defended in such a manner "as was to be expected of a brave race who fight for all that is dear to it." The session was taken up with the question of Jews and judges sitting in parliament. A resolution was passed excluding the former, and by a vote of twenty-two to two the assembly passed a bill excluding judges as well. This bill was rejected by the legislative council, and a hostile feeling arose between the governor and the assembly, whose speaker, M. Panet, he looked on with special aversion as a shareholder in *Le Canadien*.

The first session of Sir James Craig's administration was the last of the fourth parliament, and a

new election took place in May. Shortly afterwards the governor took the impolitic step of dismissing from the militia Lieutenant-Colonel Panet (the speaker), Captains Bédard and Taschereau, Lieutenant Borgia and Surgeon Blanchet. The letter of dismissal to each, signed by H. W. Ryland, stated that the reason of the dismissal was that His Excellency could place no confidence in the services of a person whom he had good ground for considering as one of the proprietors of a seditious and libellous publication.

As to the opinion expressed by Brock in his letter of July, 1808, that war with the United States was now out of the question, it may be well to glance at the condition of affairs in Europe, and to find out what had produced the change of feeling in America. Russia, in 1807, had vainly struggled to free herself from the power of France, but after an unsuccessful campaign had concluded the Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon. By its secret articles France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia, on her part, promised to close her ports against British vessels. Napoleon's Berlin decrees had not really gone into force until the summer of 1807, when he ordered them to be executed in Holland, and in August a general seizure of neutrals took place at Amsterdam. From that time trade with the continent ceased. The seizure of their vessels had been a severe blow to the United States, and had roused in that country a feeling of

distrust in Napoleon's friendship. Then followed the British orders-in-council, by which all neutral trade was prohibited from Copenhagen to Trieste. No American vessel was to enter any port of Europe from which the British were excluded, unless it had first cleared from a British port. Truly, neutrals were in a very difficult position.

In July, 1807, England sent a large naval expedition to Copenhagen under command of Lord Gambier, with transports containing twenty-seven thousand troops under Lord Cathcart. This expedition was sent with a peremptory request to the Prince Regent to deliver up the Danish fleet. From September 1st to the 5th, Copenhagen was bombarded. Scarcely any resistance was offered, and the fleet was surrendered, while Danish merchant vessels worth ten millions of dollars were confiscated. These arbitrary measures were taken in order to protect British trade and to defeat the designs of Napoleon to form a powerful navy. In consequence, the Russian fleet was shut up at Cronstadt, and the Baltic remained under the control of Great Britain. The naval combination carefully prepared by Napoleon in the Treaty of Tilsit utterly failed.

Late in 1807, Napoleon had stripped the elector of Hesse Cassel of his dominions on the plea that he had not joined him in the war against Prussia, and had done the same to the Duke of Brunswick on the ground that the duke had joined Prussia against him. Out of these domains the arch dictator

had created the kingdom of Westphalia, and had bestowed it upon his brother, Jerome Bonaparte. Soon after, because the Prince Regent of Portugal had refused to enforce the Berlin decrees against England, Napoleon sent Junot with thirty thousand men to take possession of Portugal, and announced in the *Moniteur* that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe. Junot entered Lisbon without opposition, to find that the Prince Regent and the court had embarked for Brazil, taking with them the ships that Napoleon coveted.

Then Tuscany was seized and added to France, and the Pope was ordered to declare war against England. Having refused to do this on the plea that he was a sovereign of peace, the French general, by Napoleon's orders, entered Rome in February, 1808, occupied the Castle St. Angelo, and took the papal troops under his own command.

Napoleon's next move was against Spain. The government there was in a most corrupt state, but up to this time the country had been the humble and submissive ally of France. Napoleon, still in the guise of friendship, took possession of her strongest fortresses, and having by a ruse got the king and queen and the heir Ferdinand into his power at Bayonne, he induced the old King Carlos IV. to resign his Crown in favour "of his friend and ally the Emperor of the French."

Napoleon then issued a decree appointing "his

dearly beloved brother Joseph, King of Naples and Sicily, to the Crowns of Spain and the Indies." By another decree he bestowed the vacant Crown of Naples and Sicily on his "dearly beloved cousin, Joachim Murat." Thus having distributed the Crowns of Europe he turned his attention with redoubled energy to the humbling of his great enemy, England. "Great Britain shall be destroyed," he said at Fontainebleau, "I have the means of doing it and they shall be employed."

In the United States, President Jefferson had determined on a scheme of non-intercourse and had laid an embargo on American shipping. "The whole world," he said, "is laid under an interdict by these two nations (England and France) and our vessels, their cargoes and crews, are to be taken by one or the other, for whatever place they may be destined out of our limits. If, therefore, on leaving our harbours we are certain to lose them, is it not better for vessels, cargoes and seamen to keep them at home?" Gallatin, secretary of the navy, wished to limit the duration of the embargo, as he said he preferred war to a permanent embargo, but Jefferson was obstinate and said it should continue until the return of peace in Europe. He had not counted the cost.

The embargo continued in force all through 1808 in spite of its extreme unpopularity throughout the United States. As a substitute for war it proved a failure. By it every citizen was tempted to evade

or defy the law. "It made men smugglers or traitors but not a single hero."

The embargo reacted in favour of the British provinces in America, partly by calling forth the energies of the population and making them acquainted with their own resources, and partly by means of the indirect trade that was carried on from Eastport in Maine, across the border, and by way of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. In order to avoid the embargo on the coasts, goods were smuggled over the frontier to be sent to the West Indies and Halifax. In spite of new regulations and restrictions put forth by the American government, smuggling flourished. Craft of all sorts and sizes crowded the river St. Lawrence, and Canadian merchants prospered. Immense rafts were collected near the boundary line on Lake Champlain. These rafts were said to be loaded with the surplus products of Vermont for a year, consisting of wheat, potash, pork and beef. The coasting vessels, which were the means of commerce between the states, used to try to evade the law by putting into some port in Nova Scotia or the West Indies on pretence of stress of weather, and then leaving their cargo.

Fresh and stricter regulations were now made. At first the embargo was not felt in the United States, but when supplies were consumed the outcry against it became violent. As the year went on it was found to have paralyzed the country. A

reign of idleness was established, demoralizing to everybody. A traveller (Lambert) writes that the harbour of New York was full of shipping, but the ships were dismantled and laid up. "Not a box or a bale to be seen on the wharves. Counting-houses all shut up, and merchants, clerks, porters and labourers walking about with their hands in their pockets."

New England was in a worse plight. The people believed that Jefferson was sold to France. Wheat in the Middle States fell from two dollars to seventy-five cents a bushel. The chief burden however fell on the Southern States, especially on Jefferson's own state—Virginia. Tobacco there was worthless. Planters were beggared. The country was deprived of tea, coffee, sugar, salt, molasses and rum.

During 1808, the feeling in the country against France became stronger. By Napoleon's Milan decree, which reached America in March, "every ship which should have been searched by a British vessel, or should have paid any duty to the British government, or should come from or be destined to any port in the British possessions in any part of the world should be good prize." It was after the Milan decree that the question was mooted in the United States of an alliance with England, and it was announced by Secretary Madison that an order had been issued to discharge all British subjects from national ships. The non-intercourse and embargo had done England immense harm and were

working havoc among certain classes of the population. The artizans of Staffordshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire were reduced to the verge of famine, while quantities of sugar, coffee, etc., overfilled the warehouses of London. Under the orders-in-council the whole produce of the West Indies, shut out from Europe by Napoleon's decrees, and from America by the embargo, came to England, until the market was overstocked. English merchants sent their goods to Brazil until the beach at Rio de Janeiro was covered with property perishing for want of buyers and warehouses.

While this war of trade was going on, Napoleon, by every means in his power, by taunts, and threats, and cajolery, was trying to force America into a declaration of war against England. He said, "The United States, more than any other power, have to complain of the aggressions of England. In the situation in which England has placed the continent, His Majesty has no doubt of a declaration of war against her by the United States." He wrote to his secretary of war, Champagny, "In my mind, I regard war as declared between England and America from the day when England published her decrees." Again he wrote, "Let the American minister know verbally that whenever war shall be declared with England, and whenever, in consequence, the Americans shall send troops into the Floridas to help the Spaniards and repulse the English, I shall much approve of it. You will even

let him perceive that in case America shall be disposed to enter into a treaty of alliance and make common cause with me, I shall not be unwilling to intercede with the court of Spain to obtain the cession of these same Floridas in favour of the Americans." So the tempting bait of Florida was held dangling before Jefferson, whose cherished hope it was to see that territory added to the United States.

General Armstrong, the American minister in Paris, does not seem to have been deceived by Napoleon's manœuvres. He writes: "With one hand they offer us the blessing of equal alliance, with the other they menace us with war if we do not accept the kindness, and with both they pick our pockets with all imaginable dexterity, diligence, and impudence."

Napoleon during this year (1808) was not having the success in Spain that he had expected. A patriot party had arisen there, aided by English troops and gold, and had driven Joseph Bonaparte from his ill-gotten throne. Arthur Wellesley had landed, and at the battle of Vimiera, on August 21st, had defeated Junot, who at Cintra consented to evacuate Portugal on the consideration that his army of twenty-two thousand men should be conveyed by sea to France. In August, also, news came to the emperor that General Dupont's army had been captured by the Spaniards, and eighty thousand French troops were thrown back on the Pyrenees. Napoleon was stung

to anger at this ill-success, and in September sent a fresh army of two hundred and fifty thousand men across the mountains, and announced that he himself was departing in a few days in order to crown Joseph as king of Spain in Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the fort of Lisbon. It was not the probable loss of Spain and Portugal that he cared for then, but the loss of their fleets that were to have given France the supremacy of the ocean.

Napoleon left Paris October 29th, 1808, and in November began his campaign. He occupied Madrid on December 4th, and learned that Sir John Moore had marched from Portugal to the north of Spain. He then hurried over the mountains to cut off his retreat, but was out-generalled. Moore escaped to his fleet, and Napoleon, in January, 1809, leaving Soult to march to Corunna, abandoned Spain forever.

England at this time was defiant, and fondly hoped that the power of the devastator of Europe was on the wane. She passed a new order-in-council in December, doing away with export duties on foreign articles passing through England. It was her object now to encourage Americans to evade the embargo by running produce to the West Indies or South America. England had to feed her own armies in Spain, and the Spanish patriots also, and did not want to tax American wheat or salt pork on their way there. By the end of 1808 the embargo was so unpopular in America

that its repeal was decided on. Jefferson wished to be spared the humiliation of signing the repeal, and hoped that it would continue in force until June, 1809, when the new president, James Madison, would be in power, but public opinion was too strong, and its withdrawal was signed as the last act of his administration.

CHAPTER X

POLITICS IN QUEBEC

IN September, 1808, Brock was superseded in his command at Montreal by Major-General Drummond, and returned to Quebec. He did not like being separated from the 49th, but, as he remarks, "soldiers must accustom themselves to frequent movements, and as they have no choice it often happens they are placed in situations little agreeing with their inclinations." His appointment as brigadier was confirmed, but he writes, "if the 49th are ordered away my rank will not be an inducement to keep me in the Canadas." As to the embargo, he says, "it has proved a famous harvest to merchants. It was evidently adopted with the idea of pleasing France, but no half measures can satisfy Napoleon, and this colony has been raised by it to a degree of importance that ensures its future prosperity." Sir James Craig, in his speech at the opening of parliament, referred to the embargo as having had the effect of calling forth the energies of the population of Canada, adding that it had made the country acquainted with its resources.

It was in April, 1809, that the new House met, and the speaker was again M. Panet, who, although defeated for Quebec, had been elected

member for Huntingdon. Much to everybody's surprise, the governor ratified the appointment. There were fourteen members of British origin in the assembly, while thirty-six were French Canadians, and again the question of judges and Jews having seats in the assembly was discussed with much warmth. In the midst of the debate, when a resolution had been passed excluding Jews, and a bill for the disqualification of judges had been read a first time, the governor suddenly appeared upon the scene, and stated his intention of proroguing and dissolving the House. He reproved the members for having wasted their time in frivolous debates, and while reproving them he took occasion to thank the legislative council for their zeal and unanimity. The session had lasted just thirty-six days.

The governor afterwards visited several of the principal places in the province, where he was received with effusion by the anti-Canadian party. The Quebec *Mercury*, alluding to the conduct of the assembly in persisting in its action against the judges, said: "The conduct of a conquered people, lifted by their victors from the depths of misery to the height of prosperity, and to whom has been extended every species of indulgence, is not such as might have been expected at their hands." *Le Canadien* naturally justified the opinion of the majority of the House, and quoted Blackstone, Locke, and other British authorities as to the rights

of parliament. The editor of the *Journal* wrote: "The king's representative has power by law to dissolve the House when he thinks fit to do so, but he has no right whatever to make abusive remarks such as his harangue contained upon the action of the legislature—a body which is absolutely independent of his authority." So the little rift grew wider every day. The governor fondly hoped that the new elections would give a different complexion to the House, but in this he was disappointed. It was even more strongly opposed to his party than the former one, and included among the new members M. Louis-Joseph Papineau, then a student of twenty, who, in after years, was destined to take a very prominent part in the long struggle between the assembly and the legislative council.

In the meantime, before the new House met, the British ministry had sent instructions to Sir James Craig as to the ineligibility of judges to sit in parliament, and directed him to sanction the bill excluding them.

The year 1809 saw Napoleon's waning star once more in the ascendant. Austria had risen against him, only to be defeated, and on May 10th the victor had entered Vienna in triumph. Then followed the battle of Wagram on July 6th, which was a crushing blow to the Austrian army under the command of the Archduke Charles. An armistice was signed on the 12th, and on October 24th, by a treaty of peace, Austria ceded all her sea-coast to

France. The news of Napoleon's successes aroused England to fresh exertions. Canning, the war minister, increased the army to five hundred thousand men. The regulars were fed by volunteers from the militia. The militia was kept up by voluntary recruiting and by ballot. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had returned to England after Cintra, was again sent out after the death of Moore at Corunna, at the head of a much better army than he had had the year before, to match his strength against Generals Soult and Massena. There was a scarcity, though, of transport, supplies, and specie. England was drained of gold to supply the needs of her army in the Peninsula, and to assist the Spanish patriots in their struggle against France.

There was little chance for Canada's needs to be attended to in this great crisis. Sir James Craig in February asked the home government for a reinforcement of twelve thousand troops, with the necessary camp equipage, two thousand to be stationed in the citadel at Quebec, two thousand in Upper Canada, and eight thousand for an active field force. This was his estimate of what he considered necessary for the proper defence of the country. His request arrived at a time when the cabinet was rent asunder by dissensions. The Duke of Portland, the nominal leader, was powerless. Castlereagh and Canning were at war. Both hated Perceval. Castlereagh was bent on sending troops to the Scheldt to take Flushing and Antwerp,

where Napoleon was building a fleet. Canning wanted troops only for the Peninsula. The former had his way, and the ill-fated Walcheren expedition was undertaken. Forty thousand troops were sent against Antwerp, with thirty-three sail of the line, besides frigates. Flushing was besieged, but Antwerp, being reinforced and strengthened, was impregnable. Disputes arose between Lord Chatham, who was the commander-in-chief, and Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. By September the siege was given up, and fifteen thousand men were sent to the island of Walcheren. A plague of fever attacked them there, and the whole expedition turned out a failure. The result was the breaking up of the Portland ministry, and the retirement of Castlereagh under a cloud. No wonder was it under these circumstances that Sir James Craig's request was ignored, and no troops were available for Canada. Sir Arthur Wellesley alone was holding up abroad the honour and fame of England. He drove Marshal Soult out of Portugal, marched up the valley of the Tagus, caused Joseph Bonaparte to fly a second time from Madrid, and, on July 28th, 1809, fought and won the desperate battle of Talavera. For these services the brilliant soldier was rewarded by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

Public opinion in England was so occupied with affairs in the Peninsula and political dissensions at home that it did not concern itself with distant Canada, or even with the standing quarrel with the

United States. The new president, James Madison, while removing the embargo, still held to non-intercourse with France and England, their colonies or dependencies. The Non-Intercourse Bill, brought in by the committee on foreign relations and passed by congress, excluded all public and private vessels of France and England from American waters, and forbade, under severe penalties, the importation of British or French goods. It was at this time that one John Henry, was sent by Ryland, on behalf of the governor-general of Canada, into the New England States to report on the state of public opinion there with regard to internal politics and the probability of war. It was supposed then that the Federalists of Massachusetts, rather than submit to the difficulties they were subjected to, would bring about a separation from the union. Henry's letters, unimportant in themselves, afterwards came into the possession of the government of the United States, and were made use of to foment the war feeling of 1812.

Early in 1809 Canning had sent instructions to the British minister in Washington, Mr. Erskine, to offer to withdraw the orders-in-council on certain conditions. The minister exceeded his instructions, and announced in April that the orders of 1807 would be withdrawn, in respect to the United States, on June 10th. There was universal joy and satisfaction throughout that country at the resumption of trade. A thousand ships

hurried out of the harbours laden with merchandise for British ports. The French minister at Washington remonstrated at the hasty belief in promises, and it was soon found that the announcement was premature. The conditions attached to the withdrawal had not been insisted upon by the English envoy, and on the very day, June 10th, that the revocation of the order was arranged for, it was learned in America that on April 26th another order-in-council had been passed by England establishing a strict blockade of the ports of Holland, France, and Italy.[1] British merchants, frightened at the prospect of free entrance of American ships to the Baltic, had crowded the board of trade protesting that if American vessels with cheaper sugar, cotton, and coffee were allowed into Amsterdam and Antwerp, British trade was at an end. Their warehouses were stuffed full, and they could not stand American competition and the resulting fall in prices. Relations with the United States were more strained than ever. Smuggling during these years of restriction seems to have flourished everywhere, and the island of Heligoland was the chief dépôt for English traders in the Baltic.

Much as they hated the English orders-in-council, Americans, on the other hand, were awaking to the knowledge that Napoleon's friendship

[1] An order-in-council was, however, passed, protecting for a limited time those United States vessels which had sailed, believing the orders were rescinded.

was a hollow mockery. He was no longer the champion of republics, for he was an emperor surrounded by an aristocracy on whom he had conferred hereditary titles. He had seized American ships on the high seas on the pretext that they had British merchandise on board. By his Bayonne decree, he had sequestered all American vessels arriving in France, or in any port within the military contest, subsequent to the embargo, as British property or under British protection. When Louis of Holland refused to seize American ships at Amsterdam, Napoleon came to the conclusion that the former must abdicate and Holland be annexed to France. It was calculated that by the seizures in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Spain, France, Denmark, Hamburg, Italy and Naples, more than ten millions of dollars had been added to the revenues of France. Twenty years afterwards the United States received five million dollars as indemnity.

Mr. Erskine, after his indiscreet proclamation, had been recalled from Washington, and Mr. Francis Jackson had been sent there instead, but was but coolly received in Washington. In England this year, chaos reigned in politics. Mr. Perceval had succeeded the Duke of Portland, while Canning's place at the foreign office had been taken by the Marquis of Wellesley, who was scarcely on speaking terms with the first minister. Lords Liverpool, Bathurst, and Eldon were the other prominent members of the cabinet, and the young Viscount

Palmerston became secretary of war. News from the Peninsula was not encouraging. Napoleon's armies were subduing Spain, while Wellington had retreated into Portugal. With defeat abroad and ruin at home, the prospects of England were extremely dark.

To return to Canada and General Brock—the letters of 1808-9 that have been preserved show his intense longing for service in Europe. His younger brother, Savery, had been with Moore in Spain, and his letters from there were eagerly looked forward to by his brother Isaac, who could scarcely bear in patience the inactive life he was forced to lead. He was ill and out of sorts. He writes of bad weather and heavy gales, that the frigate *Iphigenie* could scarcely have cleared the land, and that there were apprehensions for her safety. Her commander, Captain Lambert, had been in Quebec, and Brock writes: "I found him an exceedingly good fellow, and I have reason to think he is well satisfied with the attention he received from me." This was the Captain Lambert who was mortally wounded in December, 1812, while in command of the *Java* when it was captured by the American frigate *Constitution.*

Colonel Baron de Rottenburg, of the 60th, was now expected in Canada as a brigadier, and Brock thought his appointment would mean a change for him, as one or the other would have to go to the Upper Province, and de Rottenburg, being the senior,

would have the choice. There seemed but little chance for Brock, much as he wished it, to return to Europe, while affairs with the United States were so unsettled. In his letter to his brother, he says: "I rejoice Savery has begun to exert himself to get me appointed to a more active situation. I must see service, or I may as well, or indeed much better, quit the army at once, for not one advantage can I reasonably look for hereafter if I remain buried in this inactive remote corner. Should Sir James Saumarez return from the Baltic crowned with success, he could, I should think, say a good word for me to some purpose." Sir Thomas Saumarez, a brother of Sir James (Admiral Lord de Saumarez), had, in 1787, married Harriet, daughter of William Brock of Guernsey. One of Brock's *confrères* is mentioned in this letter as having just recovered from a severe illness. This was Colonel Vincent of the 49th, a soldier who was destined to take a very active part in the coming war. Vincent entered the army in 1781, served like Brock in the West Indies, and was also with him in the expedition to Copenhagen under Sir Hyde Parker.

In December, 1809, Brock writes to his brother William of the imminence of the war with the United States, and says: "Whatever steps England may adopt, I think she cannot in prudence avoid sending a strong military force to these provinces, as they are now become of infinite importance to her. You cannot conceive the quantities of timber

and spars of all kinds which are lying on the beach ready for shipment to England in the spring. Four hundred vessels would not be sufficient to take all away. Whence will England be supplied with these essential articles but from the Canadas?"

Brock had now been seven years in Canada, and had had an opportunity of witnessing the wonderful progress the country had made during those years. Formerly lumber for the use of the province had come chiefly from Vermont, but from 1806 the lumber trade in Canada had immensely increased, and attention was being given to its development. The condition of the Baltic had stopped supplies being sent from there, and had given an impetus to the trade in Canada. No one realized then the dimensions to which it was to grow. Shipbuilding, too, had increased. Hitherto the fur trade with the Indians had been the principal source of wealth in Canada, but now its illimitable forests were to be utilized. One evidence of its prosperity was the increased importation of British manufactures. Comforts and luxuries were finding their way into the homes of the settlers. Roads were being built in all directions, and Sir James Craig made use of military labour in their construction. By the building of these roads provisions in the towns became more plentiful and cheaper.

As to the French question in Canada, which was just then troubling the minds of the governor and his council, Brock believed that Napoleon coveted

the ancient possessions of France, and that he could, with a small French force of four or five thousand men, with plenty of muskets, conquer the province. He thought the French Canadians would join them almost to a man, and he believed that if Englishmen were placed in the same situation they would show even more impatience to escape from French rule. He wrote in December: "The idea prevails that Napoleon must succeed, and ultimately get possession of these provinces. The bold and violent are becoming more audacious. The timid think it prudent to withdraw from the society of the English. Little intercourse exists between the two races. The governor, next month, will have a difficult card to play with the assembly, which is really getting too daring and arrogant."

It was in January, 1810, that the new House met, and the governor opened it with a long address, referring to European affairs, to the capture of Martinique, in which Sir George Prevost had taken part, and to the threatened war with the United States. He also announced that he was ready by His Majesty's pleasure to give his assent to the bill as to the ineligibility of judges having seats in the assembly. At that time Judge de Bonne was the member for the Upper Town of Quebec. The assembly brought in the bill, but it was amended by the Upper House by a clause that it should only come into effect at the end of the session. The assembly was defiant, and passed a

resolution that de Bonne, being a judge, should not vote. This was carried. The governor, accustomed to camps and ready obedience to his orders, could not brook the insubordination of his members, and with soldier-like promptness came down and prorogued the House, and told the members he meant to appeal to the people and have a new election. In dismissing them Sir James Craig lamented the measure that excluded men from the House who were so eminently fitted for it as were the judges. The governor was well received at his entrance and departure from the council chamber, and addresses of approval were sent him from many places. It was thought that the assembly was trying to assume too much power.

If Sir James Craig had done no more than this, the flame that he had kindled among the French Canadians might soon have been extinguished. He, however, proceeded to stronger measures. Because *Le Canadien* continued to publish what he considered inflammatory articles, criticizing his conduct and that of the executive, he sent, on March 17th, a party of troops with a magistrate and two constables to its office, seized the press, and committed the printers to gaol. The city was then put under military patrol, as if a rising were contemplated. After an examination of the papers found on the premises, Messrs. Bédard, Blanchet, and Taschereau were arrested on a warrant under the act for the better preservation of His Majesty's govern-

ment. There were three other arrests made in the Montreal district—Laforce, Pierre Papineau (of Chambly), and Corbeil. Then the governor issued a long proclamation, which ended with a caution not to listen to the artful suggestions of designing and wicked men, who, by the spreading of false reports and by seditious and traitorous writing, ascribed to His Majesty's government evil and malicious purposes. There was a pathetic touch given to this proclamation by its closing words: "Is it for myself, then, I should oppress you? For what should I oppress you? Is it from ambition? What can you give me? Alas! my good friends, with a life ebbing not slowly to its close, under the pressure of disease acquired in the service of my country, I look only to pass what it may please God to suffer to remain of it, in the comfort of retirement among my friends. I remain amongst you only in obedience to the command of my king."

Blanchet and Taschereau were discharged from prison in July, as they pleaded ill-health. The printer was also discharged, and the men from Montreal, but Bédard, an influential and eloquent member of the assembly, declined to be liberated without having been brought to trial. He said that he had done nothing wrong, that he did not care how long he was kept in prison, and applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*. This was all very embarrassing to the government, who would have much preferred to release him. Many petitions were sent

in on his behalf, and the governor at last sent for Bédard's brother, a priest, saying that he would consent to his being set free if he would not resume his attempts to disturb public tranquillity. Bédard sent his thanks, and said that if any man could convince him that he had been at fault it was the governor, but as that conviction must arise in his own mind he must be content to submit to his fate. So he remained in gaol.

Sir James Craig now determined to send an agent to London to propose certain changes in the constitution by which the power of the Crown would be increased. He also wished to obtain the approval of the home government as to the suppression of *Le Canadien*, and the arrest of the members of its staff. Mr. Ryland was selected as the messenger. He arrived in London in August, 1810.

In the previous May the governor, in his despatch to the home government, said that the French and the English did not hold any intercourse; that among the Canadian community the name of Britain was held in contempt; that the Canadians were sunk in gross ignorance; that they were drunken, saucy to their betters, and cowards in battle; and as for their religion, the Catholic clergy ought to be put under the Anglican hierarchy; their peculiar faith made them enemies of Britain and friendly to France—yes, even to Bonaparte himself, since the *Concordat*. Sir James then

praised his legislative council, whom he described as composed of the most respectable personages in the colony, while, on the contrary, the assembly was made up of very ignorant individuals, incapable of discussing rationally a subject of any import. He also informed the government that the anti-British party was becoming more audacious in consequence of Napoleon's successes in Europe, and that its members were doing all they could to bring about the loss of Canada to Great Britain.

CHAPTER XI

QUEBEC AND NIAGARA

IN July, 1810, Brock was still in Quebec. He writes from there to his brother Irving, thanking him for executing some commissions for him in London. All had arrived safely with the exception of "a cocked hat," and not receiving it was a most distressing circumstance, "as," he added, "from the enormity of my head I find the utmost difficulty in getting a substitute in this country."

General Brock was most anxious to go to England, but had almost given up the thought. Several events of a disturbing nature had occurred in the upper country, and it was agreed that he should be sent there, whether temporarily or permanently it was not decided. If a senior brigadier should come out he would certainly himself be fixed in Upper Canada. With a little bitterness, not often noticed in his correspondence, he writes: "Since all my efforts to get more actively employed have failed; since fate decrees that the best portion of my life is to be wasted in inaction in the Canadas, I am rather pleased with the prospect of removing upwards." He writes in his letter of July 10th that three hundred vessels have already arrived in Quebec. A Guernsey vessel had come, bringing, much

to his delight, letters from his brother Savery, who, after Sir John Moore's death, had returned home. The May fleet which had arrived from Portsmouth in thirty days (a very quick passage) had brought nothing for him—"not the scrape of a pen." His brother Irving was then in London, writing political pamphlets, which seem to have pleased his brother very much. He writes: "You have taken a very proper view of the political discussions which at this moment disgrace England. . . . Those to whom I have allowed a perusal, and who are infinitely better judges than I can be, speak of the purity of the language in terms of high approbation. I am all anxiety for your literary fame."

Quebec seems to have been particularly gay at this time, in spite of wrangles with the governor on the part of some of the inhabitants. Two frigates were at anchor in the harbour, and the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Gore and his wife from the Upper Province had given a zest to the gaiety. There were races and country and water parties, a continual round of festivity. Brock remarks: "Such stimulus is necessary to keep our spirits afloat. I wish I could boast a little more patience." We read that General Brock contributed to the festivities by giving a grand dinner in honour of Mrs. Gore, at which Sir James Craig was present; and also a ball to a "vast assemblage" of the *beau monde* of the place.

In the midst of the gaiety he received his orders

to depart for the Upper Province, to remain there if another brigadier should arrive in Quebec. He was puzzled what to do with his possessions. If he left them behind he would be miserably off, as he wrote: "Nothing but eatables can be obtained there, and the expense will be ruinous if I move everything and then am ordered back. But I must submit to all without repining, and since I cannot get to Europe I care little where I am placed. I leave the most delightful garden imaginable, with abundance of melons and other good things."

He found time before he left to do an act of kindness to one of the soldiers of the 49th, an act so natural in him to those who served under him. He writes: "I have prevailed upon Sir James to appoint Sergeant Robinson, master of the band, to a situation in the commissariat at Sorel, worth three and sixpence a day, with subaltern lodging, money and other allowances. He married a Jersey lass, whose relations may enquire for him."

He tells his sister that he means to procure in the autumn handsome skins to make muffs for his two young nieces, Maria and Zelia Potenger. He wants "the two dear little girls" to write to him, and bids them appreciate the advantages they are receiving as to education, so different "from this colony, where the means for education for both sexes are very limited."

By September, 1810, Brigadier-General Brock is settled at Fort George, and a chatty letter from

the Adjutant-General, Colonel Baynes, tells him what is happening in Quebec—how Baron de Rottenburg had arrived, and although a year older than Sir James Craig (who was sixty), looked a much younger man; how his wife, Madame de Rottenburg, had made a complete conquest of all hearts. She was remarkably handsome both in face and figure, and her manners were pleasing, graceful and affable. She was much younger than her husband, and they both spoke English very well, with but a slight foreign accent. Sir James Craig was reported as being very well, and his sixtieth birthday had just been celebrated at a very pleasant party at Powell Place. Colonel Baynes told Brock that there had just been a court-martial on some deserters. Two, one of them a Canadian, had been sentenced to be shot; the others, a dozen in number, were to be sentenced to be transported to serve for life in Africa.

Brock writes to his brother in September, from Fort George, a very homesick letter. He says: "At present, Vincent, Glegg, and Williams enliven this lonesome place. They are here on a court-martial, but will soon depart, and I will be left to my own reflections. I hope to obtain leave after Christmas. The arrival of Baron de Rottenburg has, I think, diminished my prospect of advancement in this country. I should stand, evidently, in my own light if I did not court fortune elsewhere."

He had taken a trip to Detroit which he thought

had most delightful surroundings, far exceeding anything he had seen on the continent. "As to the manners of the American people, I do not admire them at all. I have met with some whose society was everything one could desire, and at Boston and New York such characters are, I believe, numerous, but these are the exceptions." He had not had a letter from Europe since May. He continues, "I wish you would write to me by way of New York. I avail myself of an unexpected passenger to scribble this in presence of many of the court, who tell me it is time to resume our labours, therefore, my beloved brother, adieu."

A list still remains of the books which helped to enliven his solitude at Niagara.[1] Among them one finds Johnson's Works, twelve volumes; Reed's and Bell's Editions of Shakespeare; Plutarch's Lives; Hume's Essays; Arthur on Courts Martial; Rollins' Ancient History; Marshall's Travels; Life of Condé; Wharton's Virgil; Francis's Horace; Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; Pope's Works; Expedition to Holland; Siècle de Louis Quatorze; Guibert's Œuvres Militaires; Réglement de l'Infanterie; Aventures de Telémaque; Voltaire's La Henriade; Walcheren Expedition; Erudition Militaire; King of Prussia's Tactics; European Magazine; Edinburgh Review; Memoirs of Talleyrand; Wolfe's Orders;

[1] Dr. James Bain, of the Public Library, Toronto, discovered this list amongst some old papers left in the residence of the late Hon. G. W. Allan.

Réflexions sur les Prégugés Militaires; Hume's Works. He writes to his brother, "I read much, but good books are scarce, and I hate borrowing, I like to read a book quickly and afterwards revert to such passages as have made the deepest impression and which appear to me important to remember, a practice I cannot conveniently pursue unless the book is mine. Should you find that I am likely to remain here I wish you to send me some choice authors in history, particularly ancient history, with maps, and the best translation of ancient works. I read in my youth Pope's translation of Homer, but till lately never discovered its exquisite beauties. I firmly believe the same propensity was always inherent in me, but strange to tell, although many were paid extravagantly, I never had the advantage of a master to guide and encourage me. I rejoice that my nephews are more fortunate."

Brock's application for leave was not favourably received by Sir James Craig, who was strongly impressed with the necessity of having some one like him in the Upper Province to correct the errors and neglect that had crept in there. Baynes writes: "In confidence between ourselves, I do not think he will be more ready to part with you in consequence of the arrival of Colonel Murray, who is not at all to his taste." It seems that Colonel (afterwards the distinguished Major-General Murray), had offended the governor at a dinner by warmly espousing and defending the opinions of Cobbett respecting

German troops and foreign officers, although sitting opposite to Baron de Rottenburg.

Baynes writes that Brock's successor, the baron, was a good kind of man and devoted to his profession, "but," he continues, "it would be vain to attempt to describe the genuine admiration and estimation of his *cara dolce sposa.* Young, only twenty-three—fair, beautiful, lively, discreet, witty, affable—in short, so engaging, or rather, so fascinating that neither my courier nor my paper will admit of my doing her justice. Nevertheless the charms of madame have not effaced you from the recollection of your friends, who very sincerely regret your absence."

He reports that two hundred volunteers for Colonel Zouch, from other veteran battalions, had arrived and landed. The regiment was to be completed in this manner to one thousand.

Baynes writes again about Brock's leave and says that he had talked with the commander-in-chief, who expressed his desire to forward his views, but said that he had been contending so long for the necessity of a third general officer being kept constantly on the staff of the Canadas, that he did not feel at liberty to overset the arrangement which he had been two years soliciting. When he (Baynes), said that Brock regretted inaction, and looked with envy on those employed in Spain and Portugal, the governor replied, "I make no doubt of it; but I can in no shape aid his plans

in that respect." "If he liked you less," Baynes continued, "he might perhaps be more readily induced to let you go."

Brock had taken a great interest in an old veteran, formerly in the 8th, or King's, the regiment in which he had begun his military life, and in which his brother John had served. Colonel Baynes writes, "I have not failed to communicate to Sir James your account of and your charity towards the poor old fellow. He has in consequence directed the allowance of the ration to be authorized and continued to him; but I am to remind you of the danger of establishing a precedent of this nature, and to request, in the general's name, that you will refrain as much as possible from indulging the natural benevolence of your disposition in this way, as he has hitherto resisted all applications of this sort."

At this time, early in 1811, Lieutenant-Governor Gore was contemplating a visit to England, and there was some correspondence between him and General Brock about the location of a grant of five thousand acres of land that had been made some years before to Colonel Vesey. Brock had promised the latter to arrange about it before the lieutenant-governor left Canada, and wrote that there were tracts of excellent land on Lake Erie belonging to the Crown, and also that a new township was being surveyed near the head of Lake Ontario, either of which situations would be eligible. The

lieutenant-governor replied that it was not in his power to comply with Colonel Vesey's wish in respect of location without a special order from the king, as in the case of Colonel Talbot, and that it was impossible in any township to obtain five thousand acres in a block.

The lieutenant-governor remarked in his letter that he thought President Madison's address very hostile to England, but that congress would hesitate before consenting to go the length he proposes. "Taking forcible possession of West Florida may provoke a war sooner than any other act. It is impossible to foresee how this may be viewed by the Cortez."

As to Florida, a convention of American citizens settled near the borders of West Florida, had attacked the Spanish fort at Bâton Rouge, and announced that country to be a free and independent state. The leader of the convention then wrote to the secretary of state, urging that it should be annexed to the United States, but claiming all public lands for themselves. In reply the president sent a sharp message to the revolutionary convention saying that their independence was an impertinence and their design on public lands something worse. He also issued a proclamation announcing that Governor Claiborne would take possession of West Florida. The military occupation of the country was, in fact, an act of war against Spain, but that kingdom which had once held sway

over two American continents, from the sources of the Missouri and the Mississippi to the borders of Patagonia, was powerless to resist.[1]

Letters of this date speak of the awful suspense felt in England while the armies of Wellington and Massena were in such close proximity, and the latter was advancing on the lines of Torres Vedras to drive the English army into the sea. They speak, too, of the sad illness of the old king, who after the death of the Princess Amelia had relapsed into hopeless insanity. Brock writes, "If we are to be governed by a regent I trust that ambition, jealousy or party interests, will not conspire to diminish or circumscribe his regal powers."

He writes to his brother, Irving Brock, that he had seen "Thoughts on Political Transactions," in answer to his admirable pamphlet, and remarks that the author appears to proclaim his servile attachment to Bonaparte without in any way refuting his (Irving's) arguments.

Another notable man among General Brock's friends writes to him in January. This was Colonel Kempt, afterwards General Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., governor-general of British America.

Colonel Kempt was at this time quartermaster-general in Canada, and had, under Sir James Craig,

[1] As to the occupation of Florida, Monroe declared that no satisfaction had been made by Spain for spoliation on the commerce of the United States in 1798-9, nor for denying to the United States the right of deposit at New Orleans. He also contended that West Florida was a part of Louisiana, which had been acquired by purchase from France.

superintended the building of roads and bridges in the Lower Province. In November, 1811, he was made local major-general in Spain and Portugal. He afterwards served on the staff in America and in Flanders. He was made a K.C.B. in January, 1815, was wounded at Waterloo, and was then promoted to be a Grand Cross. The sovereigns of Austria, Russia and the Netherlands also decorated him for his services. In 1820 he was governor of Nova Scotia in place of the Earl of Dalhousie, whom he succeeded as governor-general of Canada. He died in England after a long and glorious career, at the age of ninety.

Colonel Kempt wrote to Brock on the subject of his leave. He assured him that he had no reason to dread being unemployed in any rank while he wished to serve. "This opinion, my dear general," he writes, "is not given rashly or upon slight grounds—before I came to this country I had, you must know, several opportunities of hearing your name mentioned at head-quarters, both by General Calvert and Colonel Gordon, who unquestionably spoke the sentiment of the then commander-in-chief, and in such a way as to impress me with a thorough conviction that few officers of your rank stood higher in their estimation. In short, I have no manner of doubt whatever that you will readily obtain employment upon active service the moment that you do get home, and with this view I recommend you to express, through Baynes, your sense

of His Excellency's good intentions and wishes to you in respect to leave of absence, and your hopes that when the circumstances of the country are such as will permit him to grant six months' leave to a general officer, that this indulgence will be extended in the first instance to you.

"I am very happy that you are pleased with Mrs. Murray. I have just received a long letter from her, giving me an account of a splendid ball given by you to the *beau monde* of Niagara and its vicinity. The manner in which she speaks of your liberality and hospitality reminds me of the many pleasant hours I have passed under your roof. We have no such parties now. Sir James being ill prevents the usual public days at the Castle, and nothing more stupid than Quebec now is can be imagined."

The Mrs. Murray mentioned in this letter was a cousin of Colonel Kempt. Brock, in one of his letters from Fort George, says, "Colonel Murray of the 100th went home last year and brought out a charming little wife, full of good sense and spirit. They dined with me yesterday." A letter from Colonel Baynes also mentions receiving a letter from Murray, and he congratulates General Brock on having found means to enliven the solitary scene that had so long prevailed at Fort George.

Letters from home had cheered the general's heart. "What can I say," he writes, "from this remote corner in return for the pleasure I experience

at the receipt of your letters." He speaks of his life as sombre, and yet thinks that the enforced quiet has done his health good. He begs his brother Irving to dispel all fears about him.

He had just returned in February from York, where he had spent ten days with the lieutenant-governor, whom he pronounces "as generous and honest a being as ever existed." He found Mrs. Gore perfectly well and very agreeable. Their society, he said, was ample compensation for travelling over the worst roads he had ever met with. He and the governor, who had formerly been quartered with the 44th in Guernsey, had talked over old days in the Channel Islands, and had recalled with pleasure the simple hospitality that reigned there, and the charming society of Guernsey and Jersey, "where, although there was little communication with England, there were always officers in the garrison to be entertained."

Brock writes of the reports from New York as to the many failures there, and says, "Merchants there are in a state of great confusion and dismay. A dreadful crash is not far off."

The news he had received from Quebec was that Sir James had triumphed completely over the French faction in the Lower Province, and that the House of Assembly had passed every bill required of it, among others, one authorizing the governor-general and three councillors to imprison any one without assigning a cause.

The House of Assembly at Quebec had met on December 10th, 1810, and the inaugural address had been very conciliatory. The governor did not allude to any vexed questions, but protested that he had never doubted the loyalty and zeal of the previous assemblies he had convoked. In reply, the assembly observed, "We shall earnestly concur in all that is done tending to the maintenance of unbroken tranquillity, a state all the more difficult to preserve in this province as those who inhabit it cherish a diversity of ideas, habitudes and prejudices, not easy to reconcile."

The governor justified the acts committed as to imprisonment of members, and said that only those who had too much reason to dread the law inclined to object to its potency, and the united clamour of such might have deceived the assembly as to their real number.

In the meantime the vexatious Bédard still remained in prison. The assembly drew up an address on his behalf, and the elder Papineau had an interview on the subject with the governor at the Castle. The latter in his reply to M. Papineau, said: "It is the common discourse of the assembly that they intend to oblige me to release M. Bédard. I think, therefore, that it is time the people should be made to understand the rightful limits of the several powers in the state, and that the House, while it represents, yet has no right to directly govern the country."

The session passed peacefully, and at its close, when all the members had returned to their homes, Bédard was quietly and unconditionally released by the executive. It was the last public act of Sir James Craig's administration.

The act which had been the cause of so much trouble, namely that of excluding the judges from the assembly, was one of the laws passed, and strange to say, in proroguing the House, the governor said, "Among the acts to which I have just declared His Majesty's assent, there is one which I have seen with peculiar satisfaction. I mean the act for disqualifying the judges from holding a seat in the House of Assembly."

The opinions of the official and military class as to the proceedings of the House, may be gathered from a letter of Colonel Baynes to Brock, in March. "You will see by Sir James' speech the very complete triumph his firmness and energy have obtained over the factious cabal of this most contemptible assembly. Bédard will shortly be released. That fellow alone of the whole gang has nerve, and does not want ability or inclination to do mischief whenever opportunity offers; the rest, old Papineau and the blustering B. (Bourdages), are all white livered renegades to a man; but when Sir James' back is turned they will rally and commence the same bullying attack on his successor, who, I trust, will follow his example."

In the meantime, Mr. Ryland in England had

not found his task an easy one, nor had he met with the reception he had hoped for. Mr. Perceval, the prime minister, Lord Liverpool, the minister of war, and Mr. Robert Peel, the under secretary for the colonies, received him with perfect courtesy, and asked many questions, but Mr. Ryland made no progress in his design of changing the constitution. One point he particularly wished to press, namely, the necessity of controlling the patronage of the Roman Catholic Church so that the clergy would be on the government side. The assembly in its session of 1810, had offered to undertake the expenses of the civil government hitherto borne by England. Ryland's scheme was to take possession of the Jesuit estates and also of those of the seminary at Montreal. From these he proposed to grant a certain sum for education, and to apply the rest to the civil government, and thus do away with the necessity of supplies being voted by the assembly. In fact, his intention was to break the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada by taking away its endowments. Mr. Ryland also proposed that the province should revert to government by the legislative council without the assembly, as it was previous to the Canada Act.

Lord Liverpool was afraid, if the act of 1791 was annulled, that Lord Grenville, the father of the act, would rally his followers in favour of the French Canadians. He suggested a redivision of constituencies so as to obtain a greater number of English

representatives, and also thought that members might be conciliated by other means.

Several matters were referred to the attorney-general, who said that it was possible for parliament to unite the two provinces under a single government, but that he thought no new division could be made of electoral districts, nor in the number of representatives. As to the question of *Le Canadien*, the ministers did not think the passages quoted from it were strong enough to fix on its publishers a charge of treason, and it might be difficult, they thought, to justify what had been done in the matter of their arrest and imprisonment. They were inclined to call the passages quoted seditious libels. The extreme measures taken were, perhaps, excusable, but not strictly justifiable. In fact, the attorney-general said that such an arbitrary measure as the suppression of *Le Canadien* would not have been tolerated in England.

Mr. Ryland's mission was a failure, but in order to conceal his discomfiture he decided to remain in England for the winter, nor did he return to Canada until the spring of 1812. In the meantime this poor governor's health broke down utterly. General Brock wrote in March, 1811: "Sir James cannot long survive the frequent attacks of his disorder. His death will be bewailed by all who possess the feelings of Englishmen in this country."

CHAPTER XII

1811 IN CANADA AND EUROPE

EARLY in 1811 there was some correspondence between Sir James Craig and General Brock as to the treatment of the Indians. The question was, whether in case of hostilities breaking out as threatened between the Americans and the Indians, the latter should be supplied, as usual, with arms and ammunition by the British. No doubt the Americans would expect a strict neutrality to be observed; but by stopping supplies, Brock thought the British might lose all their influence over the tribes. There had been a council held in which the chiefs had resolved to go to war with the Americans, and they seemed to have had a firm conviction that although they could not expect active coöperation, yet they might rely on receiving from the British the requisites of war.

They had suffered much of late. Napoleon's decrees and the English orders-in-council had put a stop to their trade in furs. They could obtain nothing for their peltries, for the warehouses of the great companies were filled with costly furs for which there was no market. The Americans, too, of late had encroached more and more on their hunting-grounds. It had been tacitly understood

in the treaty of 1783 that the Indian country west of the Ohio was to be left to the tribes, but on one pretence and another, by strategy and persuasion, different Indian tribes had been induced to sell their lands for a nominal price, and were being pushed further and further back from the plains and forests and rivers which gave them their sustenance. One chief had foreseen the doom that awaited them, and planned to avert it. This was Tecumseh, a Shawanese warrior and statesman. He dreamed of a confederation of all the tribes of North America, in order to regain, if possible, their old boundaries, and to resist the further encroachments of the white race.

The Indians knew quite well the unsettled relations between the United States and England, and had not made up their minds in 1811 as to which country they would ally themselves to. They had been threatened with retaliation on their wives and children if they dared to serve the British.

Tecumseh was willing to be friendly to the United States if the latter would agree to give up some lands lately purchased, and would agree not to enter into treaties without the consent of all the tribes. Tecumseh pledged himself on these conditions to be a faithful ally to the United States and to assist them in war against the English, otherwise he would enter into an English alliance. At an interview with General Harrison, when he was told that the matter rested with the president,

Tecumseh replied: "If the great chief is to decide the matter I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough in his head to induce him to direct you to give up the land. It is true he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his town and drink his wine, while you and I will have to fight it out." The demands of Tecumseh as to lands and treaties were not complied with, therefore he summoned his people to go to war against the Americans.

Brock wrote in February as to the recent distribution of stores among the tribes. "Our cold attempt to dissuade that much injured people from engaging in such a rash enterprise could scarcely be expected to prevail, particularly after giving such manifest indications of a contrary sentiment, by the liberal quantity of military stores with which they were dismissed." For information about them, General Brock said he had to rely on the reports of officers commanding at the outposts, as "the lieutenant-governor witholds all communication on the subject."

The management of the Indians was in the hands of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and agents were employed by him to administer their affairs. Mr. Elliott was then in charge at Amherstburg. Brock speaks of him as an exceedingly good man, who having lived much among the Indians, sympathized with their wrongs, but he thought that he was rather biased and prejudiced in their favour.

The general was of the opinion, however, that if Mr. Elliott had delayed giving them presents until he reported their mission to Lieutenant-Governor Gore, they would have returned to their companions with different impressions as to the sentiments of government.

The instructions issued by Lord Dorchester in 1790 were continued in full force. The charge of the Indian department was vested in the civil administration, and Brock thought this led to confusion. Vast numbers of Indians assembled every year at Amherstburg from a great distance. Brock said he had seen eight hundred waiting for a month on rations for the presents to come, and he thought the storekeeper-general in Upper Canada ought to be allowed to buy them in case they did not reach the Upper Provinces before the close of navigation.

In March Brock writes to Major Taylor of the 100th Regiment, commanding at Amherstburg, and the first sentence is a reproof to that officer for not having reported to him the important resolution by which the Indians formally announced their intention of going to war with the Americans. He had learnt of it from another source and had reported it to the commander-in-chief. He then gave Major Taylor an extract from His Excellency's secret and confidential answer, which especially enjoined on all military officers to report at once to General Brock whatever transpired at any councils of the Indians at which they might be present.

Sir James Craig was of the opinion that every effort should be made to prevent a rupture between the Indians and the United States. General Brock therefore advised Major Taylor that if he perceived the smallest indication to depart from the line so strongly laid down by His Excellency, he should offer friendly advice to the officers of the government in charge of Indian affairs, and even have recourse to written protests to deter them from persevering in any act that might irritate and dispose the two nations to a conflict. Brock adds, "This you must do as coming from yourself, and report circumstantially every occurrence that may come to your knowledge."

It was not for some months after this that actual hostilities broke out, and the accusation was then formally made in congress, that by supplying some of the tribes with arms, ammunition and food, the British had aided the Indians in their warlike designs.

In April Colonel Vesey writes from England and thanks General Brock for the interesting details he had given him of local politics, both civil and military, in Canada, although the colonel expresses himself as not partial to that country, and he regrets that the 49th should be detained there so long. He condoles with the general on the lonely winter he must have passed at Fort George, in spite of the companionship of Colonel Murray and his nice little wife. He adds, "Pray remember me

to my old friend St. George. Mrs. Vesey has charged me to call her to your recollection. She and my six children are as well as possible, and a very nice little group they are, all as healthy as can be. I wish I had a daughter old enough for you, as I would give her to you with pleasure. You should be married, particularly as fate seems to detain you so long in Canada, but pray, do not marry there."

Although no colonial maid was considered worthy of his friend, yet there is a legend that General Brock was at this time engaged to a young lady living at York. No hint of this is found, however, in any contemporary records or in his own family correspondence.

In another letter Colonel Vesey thanks him for the interest he had taken in procuring for him his grant of land. He adds, "I quite feel for you, my good friend, when I think of the stupid and uninteresting time you must have passed in Upper Canada. With your ardour for professional employment in the field, it must have been very painful. Had you returned to Europe there is little doubt but that you would have been immediately employed in Portugal; and as that service has turned out so very creditable, I regret very much that you had not deserted from Canada. I take it for granted that you will not stay there long, and should the fortune of war bring us again upon duty in the same country, I need not say how I shall hail the event with joy. If you come to England, I would wish

you to call upon the Duke of Kent, who has a high respect for you and will be happy to see you. The Duke of York is to return to the army. Sir David Dundas will not be much regretted."

A letter from Colonel Baynes in March reports that Sir James Craig, owing to extreme ill-health, was to return to England early in the summer. He wished to be relieved from the anxiety of his office, which, now that a war with the United States seemed probable, was too onerous a position. For himself, his mind was made up, and he was resigned to a speedy termination of his sufferings.

Communication was so slow between Upper and Lower Canada that many of Colonel Baynes's letters were transmitted through the United States. At that time there was only a post once a fortnight between Montreal and Kingston, and from the latter place to York and Fort George the post was scarcely established at all, and letters came at uncertain intervals. Colonel Baynes's letter contained the last wishes of the commander-in-chief with regard to Brock. "I assure you," he writes, "Sir James is very far from being indifferent in regard to forwarding your wishes, but from the necessity of returning himself, and that without waiting for leave, he feels it the more necessary to leave the country in the best state of security he can. He desires me to say that he regrets extremely the disappointment you may experience, and he requests that you will do him the favour to accept as

a legacy, and as a mark of his very sincere regard, his favourite horse 'Alfred,' and that he is induced to send him to you, not only from wishing to secure to his old favourite a kind and careful master, but from the conviction that the whole continent of America could not furnish you with so safe and excellent a horse. 'Alfred' is ten years old, but being high bred, and latterly but very little used, may be considered as still perfectly fresh. Sir James will give him up to Heriot whenever you fix the manner of his being forwarded to you. Kempt goes home with His Excellency."

Sir James Craig left Canada on June 19th, 1811, in the frigate *Amelia*. Although his administration was known afterwards among certain of the population of Lower Canada as the "reign of terror," he was yet beloved by many and respected by all. Even his enemies gave him credit for the purity of his motives, and no one doubted his courage, straightforwardness, and devotion to duty. He is described as being "of agreeable countenance and impressive presence. Stout and rather below the middle height, he was yet manly and dignified. He was positive in his opinions and decided in his measures. Although hasty in temper he was not implacable, and was easily reconciled to those who incurred his displeasure. Hospitable and princely in his style of living, he was yet a friend of the poor and destitute." He did not long survive his departure, but died in London the following March.

When he left Canada, Mr. Thomas Dunn, the senior member of the council, was again left in charge of the civil government, while Lieutenant-General Drummond, who was one step higher than General Brock in the service, was left in command of the forces in the Canadas.

On June 4th of this year Brigadier-General Brock was made a major-general on the staff of North America. His friend Vesey, who had also been made a major-general, writes his congratulations to him on June 10th, and says: "It may, perhaps, be your fate to go to the Mediterranean, but the Peninsula is the most direct road to the honour of the Bath, and as you are an ambitious man, that is the station you would prefer. As it is possible you may have left Canada, I will enclose this letter to our friend Bruyères." Lieutenant-Colonel Bruyères was an officer in the Royal Engineers, and was at that time engaged in reporting to General Brock on the condition of the different forts scattered throughout Upper Canada.

In September, 1811, Sir George Prevost arrived, and assumed the chief command of British North America. His military reputation then stood high, and he had been much liked in Nova Scotia, where his administration had been a success. Sir George was born at New York on May 19th, 1767. His father was a native of Geneva who became a major-general in the British army, served under Wolfe at Quebec, was wounded there, and after-

wards distinguished himself in the defence of Savannah. His mother was a Swiss, the daughter of M. Grand of Lausanne. Sir George was lieutenant-colonel of the 60th Regiment, and had served in the West Indies. He greatly distinguished himself at St. Vincent, where he was dangerously wounded. In reward for his services he was made governor of Dominica, which he had successfully defended. He returned to England in 1805, when he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Portsmouth. He was then promoted to be lieutenant-general and lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, and in the same year, 1808, was second in command at the capture of Martinique. He then returned to Nova Scotia, where he remained until called upon to take the place of Sir James Craig. His appointment gave great satisfaction to the French Canadians, and he began his administration by very conciliatory measures. The man whom his predecessor had imprisoned as a promoter of sedition (M. Bédard), was appointed to a judgeship at Three Rivers. M. Bourdages, another adversary of the late governor, was made a colonel of militia, and all the officers who had been dismissed from the militia were re-instated. Speaking French as his mother tongue, Sir George Prevost's knowledge of their language aided him in gaining the confidence of the people, and he very judiciously began by professing perfect belief in the loyalty of the Canadians.

BROCK'S NEW OFFICE

News came from England to Brock that his friend General Kempt had had a very flattering reception there, and that the Duke of York had told him he would give him a *carte blanche* as to his future destination. Colonel Thornton, another of Brock's friends, had been appointed to a regiment, one battalion of which was in Portugal, the other in the East Indies. Thornton hoped to persuade his senior to go to India, leaving him in Portugal. He sends a message by Colonel Baynes to his friends in Canada. "Pray give a hint in private to General Brock and Sheaffe that if the former were to ask for a brigade at home or on European service, and the latter to be put on the staff in Canada, I am almost certain they would succeed."

No wonder Brock pined at inaction while his more fortunate friends were leaving him far behind in the race for glory. It was not glory alone that his ardent soul desired, but a chance to use the powers that he knew were his. The chance was nearer than he thought, and he found it in the common path of duty. Soon after Sir George Prevost's arrival in Canada as governor-general and commander-in-chief, Major-General Brock was appointed president and administrator of the government of Upper Canada during Lieutenant-Governor Gore's absence in England. He entered on his new office in what to him was a fateful month, October 9th, 1811.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW GOVERNOR

TO be a major-general, and governor, and commander-in-chief of a province at the age of forty-two was no doubt an enviable position, but, with the irony of fate, just as he had reached it, an unlooked-for financial misfortune, involving his whole family, came upon Isaac Brock. Apart from the personal loss to himself, there was besides a threatened rupture of friendship between his brothers which touched his tender heart most keenly. The story of the misfortune is as follows: In June, 1811, a firm of London bankers and merchant brokers failed. Isaac Brock's eldest brother, William, was the senior member of the firm, and it was from this brother that he had received about three thousand pounds for the purchase of his commissions. William Brock had no children, and never intended to ask for the repayment of this sum. Unfortunately the loan appeared on the books of the firm, and General Brock was on the list of its debtors. The news of the failure came with double poignancy to Brock, on account of the difficulties in which it involved him, and also on account of the distress which had overtaken his favourite brother. Savery Brock was also a loser by the failure, which

was aggravated by a coolness and estrangement that arose between William and his brother Irving, who was also connected with the firm.

General Brock writes from York to his brother Savery on October 7th, 1811: "I have this instant finished a letter to Irving. I attempted to write composedly, but found it impossible. The newspapers gave me the first intimation of the heavy misfortune we have all sustained. To this day I am without a single line from any of the family. Let me know how William and his wife support the sad change in their affairs. I want to be at once apprized of the full extent of our misery. Why keep me in this horrid suspense? I write merely to say —for my poor head will not allow me to say more— that to-morrow I enter into the official duties of president of this province. The salary attached to the situation is a thousand pounds, the whole of which I trust I shall be able to save, and after a year or two earn more. I go to Niagara next week, and shall again write through the states. Yesterday was the first truly gloomy birthday I have ever passed."

It was indeed a stinging blow to one who was the soul of honour and scrupulous to a degree in money affairs to find himself a debtor to such an amount, with no prospect of being able to discharge the debt. One may be sure, however, that sore as was the heart of the general, in outward appearance he was calm and unruffled, and none of the many

who must have offered congratulations upon his inauguration as governor of the province would guess at the sorrow that weighed upon his heart.

The first letter that he received from home brought also the news of the estrangement of his brothers, Irving and William. General Brock writes to the former on October 30th: "Your letter of the 3rd of August was only received this day. To what a state of misery are we fallen! Poverty I was prepared to bear, but oh, Irving, if you love me, do not by any action or word add to the sorrows of poor unfortunate William. Remember his kindness to me—what pleasure he always found in doing me service. Hang the world!—it is not worth a thought—be generous, and find silent comfort in being so. Oh, my dear boy, forget the past, and let us all unite in soothing the griefs of one of the best hearts that heaven ever formed. I can well conceive that the cause of his ruin was excited by too ardent a wish to place us all in affluence. His wealth we were sure to divide. Why refuse him consolation? It is all, alas, I can offer. I shall write to him the instant I feel sufficiently composed. Could tears restore him he would soon be happy—every atom of resolution leaves me the moment I require it most. I sleep little, but am compelled to assume a smiling face during the day. My thoughts are fixed on you all, and the last thing that gives me any concern is the call which Savery prepares me to expect from the creditors. I did not think

that I appeared in the books. The mistake was wholly mine. Let me know the sum. Are my commissions safe, or must they be sold? Can I not retain out of the wreck my two or three hundred a year? They would save us all from want, and we might retire to some corner and still be happy. You know the situation to which I have been lately raised. It will enable me to give up the whole of my salary — a thousand pounds yearly—and I shall enclose a power of attorney to enable you to receive it. Do with it what justice demands—pay as fast as you receive, unless, indeed, want among any of you calls for aid; in that case make use of the money and let the worst come. I leave everything to your discretion. If you possibly can satisfy my creditors, do so. I have been at three or four hundred pounds' expense in outfits, which I fear will prevent my remitting anything home this year, but the next I hope to spare to that amount. Depend upon my exercising the strictest economy, but I am in a position which must be upheld by a certain outlay. Did it depend upon myself, how willingly would I live upon bread and water. Governor Gore is gone home with a year's leave. Probably he will not return as long as the war continues. I ought not, however, to look to retain my situation above two years. I shall make all I can out of it by any fair means, for be satisfied that even your stern honesty shall have no just cause to censure one of my actions. But I cannot

look for much popularity in the homely way. I shall be constrained to proceed in the administration. Much show and feasting are indispensable to attract the multitude, especially in a colony like this where equality prevails to such a degree that men judge of your disposition by the frequency of the invitations they receive. At present all classes profess great regard and esteem for me, but although I hope they may, I cannot expect such sentiments will continue long. If I retain the friendship of the considerate and thoughtful I shall be satisfied, and I shall strive to merit the good opinion of such men. Henceforth I shall address you without reference to the past; we must consider how to get on in the future. You have read much, and I trust will profit by the lessons philosophers inculcate. Believe me, yours till doomsday."

Another letter is from the unfortunate cause of the trouble. William Brock writes: "You have received, or will receive shortly, a letter from our assignees, desiring to be informed in what manner the debt, which appears in our books as owing by you, is to be liquidated. Too well do I know, my dearest Isaac, your inability to pay it off yourself. It now amounts to something above three thousand pounds. The assignees will not, I believe, take any unpleasant steps to enforce the payment, yet it will be natural that they shall exact some sort of security from you. It was reported that legal proceedings were commenced against you,

and upon this report, a young man lately from Canada, a Mr. Ellice, called on Charles Bell to enquire if it were so, and told Bell that rather than anything unpleasant should happen to you, so great was his esteem and friendship for you, that he would contrive to pay the debt himself. Besides his attachment to you, he told Bell you were so beloved in Canada that you would not want friends who would feel pleasure in assisting you to any amount, if necessary. I know your love for me, and shall therefore say a little about myself. Savery was in London when the house stopped, and never shall I forget what I owe him for the warmth and interest he has uniformly shown in this hour of need. Do not, I pray you, my dearest Isaac, attribute my former silence to any diminution of affection, but to a depression of spirits which this final catastrophe has in some measure relieved, as a reality of misfortune is probably less painful than the preceding anxiety of it. Let us pray the prospect may again brighten. In you is all my present pride and future hope. Savery has within the last few days sent me a copy of your welcome letter of September 10th, from Montreal, and most cheering it is to our drooping spirits. May this find you well and hearty in your new honours at York."

The state of affairs in England at this time (1811) is told in a contemporary letter from Thomas G. Ridout, who was then on a visit there. He writes to his father, the surveyor-general of Upper Canada:

"Trade is at a total stand here. In July and August the merchants made a desperate effort to get off their goods, and loaded eight hundred ships, which they sent to the Baltic for Russia, Sweden and Prussia, under an insurance of forty per cent. Some were lost on the sea, others taken by privateers, and the remainder got into ports where they were immediately seized and condemned. In consequence, most of the insurers at Lloyd's have failed, along with many rich and reputable houses. The foreign trade is almost destroyed, the Custom House duties are reduced upwards of one half. Of such dreadful power are Bonaparte's orders or edicts which have of late been enforced in the strictest manner all over the continent, that the commerce of England has been almost ruined."[1]

This was doubtless the financial crisis in which William Brock had lost all.

Isaac Brock was not of a temperament to brood over his misfortunes; rather, he set himself with a will to the work that lay before him. There was much to be done in the province he had been called upon to govern, for his predecessor, Mr. Francis Gore, was an easy-going man, who had been content

[1] When the bankers and merchants of Paris came to the Tuileries to congratulate Napoleon upon the birth of his son, Napoleon said in answer to their address: "When I issued my decrees of Berlin and Milan, England laughed, yet see where she stands to-day. Within two years I shall subject England, I want only maritime force. . . . No power in Europe shall trade with England. . . . I made peace with Russia at Tilsit because Russia undertook to make war on England."

to leave affairs much as he found them, and many abuses had crept into the civil administration. One rather amusing instance was the discovery that two oxen had been maintained for some years at the public expense, for the purpose of making a road and of clearing away the heavy timber that lay between the garrison and the town. As the work was still unfinished, though years had passed since General Hunter had given orders for it, it was surmised that the oxen had been idle or kept for other purposes. General Brock requested the commander-in-chief to allow the oxen to resume their work, a completion of which was most necessary. So bad was the road at that time that communication between the garrison and Little York except by water was very difficult.

A letter from Surveyor-General Ridout tells of the new governor's energy. He writes from York on December 18th, 1811, "General Brock intends making this his headquarters, and to bring the navy, engineers and all the departments here in the spring. He told me a day or two ago that he will build an arsenal between the park and the beach on the lake, the government buildings, or rather, the public offices, in front of Mr. Elmsley's house, a regular garrison where the government house now is, and a government house contiguous to the public buildings. These intentions seem to show that he thinks of remaining with us for a certain time at least. I own I do not think that Governor Gore will

return hither, but if this is not to be a permanent military government, I should think that depends upon himself. General Brock has also required from me plans of all the townships in the province, with the locations, which will be very heavy work." We can almost hear the sigh with which the worthy gentleman writes : " I own I do not like changes in administration."

CHAPTER XIV

GATHERING CLOUDS

IN 1811 the financial storm that had burst on England had spread to France. Quarrels had again arisen between the latter country and the two independent Baltic powers, Russia and Sweden, Denmark had taken to piracy and had seized more than fifty American ships, and Russia expected to fight France in order to protect neutral commerce in the Baltic. England had that year almost ceased to send ships there, and America swarmed in until the Russian market was glutted with its goods. The United States had now a monopoly of the Baltic trade, but while members were announcing in congress at Washington that Napoleon's decrees had been withdrawn, Russia and Sweden were in the act of declaring war against France in order to protect American rights from the effects of those decrees.

The British prize court held that the French decrees had not been repealed, therefore, that American vessels entering French ports were good prize. It was truly a complicated state of affairs.

In the New England States there were some political changes which boded ill for peace. In Massachusetts, where the Federalist party had been

distinctly in favour of England,[1] Elbridge Gerry, the Republican candidate for governor was elected and for the first time the Republicans had a majority in the state senate. Senator Pickering, possibly from his friendly action towards England, lost his seat. It was he who at a banquet in Boston to Mr. Jackson, the English envoy, gave as a toast, "The world's last hope; Britain's fast-anchored isle."

There was a growing feeling of antagonism to England at Washington. The report of the committee appointed by congress on foreign relations, recommended an increase of ten thousand men to the army, a levy of fifty thousand from the militia, the outfit of all vessels of war not on service, and the arming of merchant vessels. In the debate that followed, Mr. Randolph said: "Since the report of the committee came into the House we have heard but one word, like the whippoorwill's monotonous tone, 'Canada, Canada, Canada.'"

Napoleon kept the Americans still in doubt as to whether his Berlin and Milan decrees were or were not revoked. Champagny, now Duke of Cadore, said the emperor would favour the trade of the United States so far as it did not cover or promote the commerce of England. The Americans chose to believe that the decrees were revoked, but as soon as they renewed their trade with France the British navy renewed their blockade of New

[1]On this occasion the state was divided into districts in party interests. Hence the word "gerrymander" so well-known in Canada.

York harbour, and His Majesty's ships, the *Melampus* and *Guerrière* captured some American vessels bound for France, and impressed the English seamen found on board. In retaliation, Secretary Hamilton ordered the forty-four gun frigate *President* to sail at once and protect American commerce. Then occurred near Annapolis the affair between the *President*, commanded by Captain Rodgers, and the *Little Belt*, a corvette of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Bingham. The corvette was chased by the frigate, and an action ensued in which the smaller boat was much damaged. Eleven of her crew were killed and twenty-four wounded. Both vessels disclaimed firing the first shot, and Captain Rodgers said that in the dusk of the twilight he was unaware of the size of his opponent. Whether it occurred by mistake or not, this affair served to increase the bad feeling between the two nations.

Brock wrote on the subject: "President Madison has committed himself most openly and unjustifiably in the affair of the *Little Belt* by accusing that poor little sloop of a wanton act of aggression in attacking a huge American frigate, when Commodore Rodgers himself admits that he was nearly eight hours the chasing vessel."

In his address to congress, November 4th, 1811, the president said: "With the evidence of hostile inflexibility in trampling on rights, which no independent nation can relinquish, congress will feel the

duty of putting the United States into an armour, and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national expectation." This somewhat grandiloquent message showed plainly the desire of the president for war.

In this address it was also mentioned that it had been necessary to march a force towards the north-western frontier, in consequence of murders and depredations committed by the Indians. The story of this expedition may be briefly told.

On the banks of the Tippecanoe creek, near the river Wabash, not far from Vincennes, and about one hundred and fifty miles south-east of Fort Dearborn (Chicago), was a flourishing Indian village. Cultivated fields testified to the industry of its inhabitants. As the home and headquarters of the great chief, Tecumseh, the village was frequented by bands of Indian warriors, then numbering about five thousand in the territory, who hoped to keep for themselves and their children a portion of the heritage of their forefathers. They were animated by a spirit of patriotism, fostered by the teaching of their leader. On July 31st, 1811, Tecumseh set off on a mission to the Creeks in the far south. No sooner had he gone than the white dwellers on the Miami River determined to take active measures against the Indians. It happened that there had been depredations committed by the latter, and a feeling of distrust had arisen among the settlers, many of whom had encroached on the

Indian boundaries, and had thus laid themselves open to attack.

General Harrison was at that time governor of Indiana, and was authorized by the president to fit out an expedition, nominally as a protection for the white inhabitants, but in reality with an intention of breaking up the Indian settlement. Among the members of this expedition were a number of hot-headed young Kentuckians, eager to emulate the deeds of their fathers who had taken part in the old Indian wars of the century before.

The expedition set off through what was then a wilderness, carrying with them a rather scanty supply of ammunition and food. General Harrison was himself in command, and pressed on with all haste in order to reach the village before their supplies should give out. At last they came to the banks of the Wabash, and there, within a short distance of Tippecanoe they encamped for the night on a hill. Word had gone to the village of their approach, and before the dawn a party of nine hundred young Indian braves stole on the sleeping camp and made a sudden attack. All was soon in confusion, and in the *mêlée* several hundred Americans, including some prominent Kentuckians, were killed and wounded. Having accomplished their task, and not waiting for the break of day, the Indians retired to their village.

When day came, General Harrison gathered the remnants of his force together, and marched

on the village, to find it, however, deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to escape his vengeance. All that he could do in retaliation was to burn the wigwams, destroy the stores of corn and fruits, and lay waste the fields. This done, he took his shattered band back by the way they came. This expedition was magnified by the Americans into a victory, and henceforth General Harrison was known by the name, "Old Tippecanoe." The Americans, willing always to blame the English government, placed the responsibility for the fight on the latter, and accused them of having incited the Indians to acts of aggression. One effect of the so-called battle was to make the Indians more favourable to an alliance with King George, and to make them hate, with a more bitter hatred, the despoilers of their homes.

In January, 1812, Tecumseh returned to find famine where he had left plenty, ruin and desolation where he had left a prosperous community. From that time Indian hostilities began again on the frontier, and were carried on with great ferocity.

In a letter to Sir James Craig on December 3rd, Brock wrote: "My first care on my arrival in the province was to direct the officers of the Indian department to exert their whole influence with the Indians to prevent the attack, which I understood a few tribes meditated against the American frontier. But these efforts proved fruitless. Such was their infatuation, the Indians refused to listen to

advice, and they are now so deeply engaged that I despair of being able to withdraw them from the contest in time to avert their destruction. A high degree of fanaticism, which has been for years working in their minds, has led to the present state of things." Again he writes, "The Indians felt they had been sacrificed in 1794. They are eager to avenge their injuries."

In view of the expected American invasion, as early as December, 1811, General Brock gave his plan of campaign to Sir George Prevost. After events proved how right he was in his forecast. He represented that Amherstburg was a most important position, and that Detroit and Michilimackinac ought to be taken in order to convince the Indians that the British were in earnest about war. At that time the garrisons of those two places did not exceed seventy rank and file, but reinforcements, Brock thought, would be drawn from the Ohio, where there was an enterprising, hardy race of settlers, famous as horsemen and expert with the rifle. He also thought that unless a diversion were made at Detroit, an overwhelming force would be sent against Niagara.

In December, 1811, the militia at Amherstburg numbered about seven hundred men. Brock proposed to increase the garrison there by two hundred rank and file from Fort George and York. As for the protection of the country between Amherstburg and Fort Erie, he depended on the naval force on

Lake Erie, which consisted then of one sloop, the *Queen Charlotte*, and one schooner, the *Hunter*. The latter was old and out of repair, and yet was the only vessel able to navigate Lake Huron. The Americans had on Lake Erie a sloop and a fine brig, the *Adams*, of twelve guns. Both were in perfect readiness for service.

General Brock counselled the immediate purchase or hire of vessels, and also advised that gunboats should be built at once, constructed to draw but little water. Owing to his representations another schooner, the *Lady Prevost*, was ordered to be built on Lake Erie, and also one on Lake Ontario, the *Prince Regent*. News had come that the only American vessel of war on Lake Ontario, then lying at Sacketts Harbour, was being manned as fast as possible. The Americans were also recruiting for the navy at Buffalo, and had crossed to Fort Erie to inveigle men away from there.

General Brock wrote to Sir George Prevost that he believed an attempt at invasion would be made at the strait between Niagara and Fort Erie, and that he thought he could raise about three thousand militia and five hundred Indians to guard that line. He believed a protracted resistance would embarrass the enemy, for their troops, being volunteers, had hardly any discipline. He would need cavalry, and he had had many offers from young men to form a troop, but they would require swords and pistols. He considered Kingston a most important

place to guard, for he believed a strong detachment of the enemy would follow Lord Amherst's route of 1760, and enter the province by way of Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg), where the river St. Lawrence is one thousand six hundred yards broad.

The militia between the Bay of Quinté and Glengarry were, he thought of excellent quality. They could not be better employed than in watching such a movement. "Mr. Cartwright, the senior militia colonel at Kingston," he wrote, "possesses the influence to which his firm character and superior abilities so deservedly entitle him."

Sir George Prevost wished to establish dépôts of arms throughout the country. Brock proposed that there should be proper places at each post where arms could be deposited after the militia had exercised. Sir George proposed sending two thousand three hundred and twenty-nine muskets to Upper Canada; but as there was no place to store them there Brock urged the completion at once of the proper buildings for the purpose at York.

In the summer of 1811 the 41st Regiment was at Montreal, eight hundred strong. In October it was moved to York. In November three hundred recruits for the regiment arrived at Quebec. They had been sixteen weeks on the passage, and had suffered much. "What a noble battalion this will be when brought together," Brock writes. It was not long before their mettle was tried and proved.

The work of raising the corps of Glengarry

Fencibles, proposed some years before, was now gone on with, and Colonel George Macdonell was entrusted with the task. Among the officers appointed to it were three sons of General Æneas Shaw, then adjutant-general of militia.[1] It was decided that the uniform of this corps should be dark green, like that of the 95th Rifles. Recruiting went on for the Glengarries, as they were called, not only in the province of Upper Canada, but also in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and sturdy Highlanders were gathered from the coast and gulf, men who in the stern days to come fought to the death for Canada.

In January a letter from Colonel Baynes told Brock that by the October mail had come the long-looked-for permission for him to return to England for service in Spain. Brock sent his formal acknowledgment of the receipt of this permission to leave Canada, but on account of the strong presumption of war with the Americans, he begged to be allowed to remain in his present command. Sir George

[1] On page 154 reference was made to General Brock's engagement to a lady in York. Fuller confirmation of the story has been since received, although in the form of a family tradition unsupported by letters. It was to a daughter (Susan) of Lieutenant-General Shaw that Brock was said to be engaged. The lady in question never married, but died at an advanced age at the house of her sister, Mrs. John Baldwin. Her sister, Isabella, married the eldest son of Chief Justice Powell, whose youngest daughter, Mary, was the fiancée of John Macdonell, Brock's friend and A.D.C. Mrs. Ridout, a granddaughter of the Chief Justice, relates the story heard in her youth of the romantic engagement of the two girls whose lovers fell together on Queenston Heights.

Prevost wrote saying that he had heard from Colonel Baynes that General Brock would not avail himself of his leave of absence, and expressed himself as much pleased that at this critical time he was not to be deprived of his services.

A scheme of General Brock's was now carried out under his immediate supervision, namely, the formation of flank companies, in the different militia regiments, of specially drilled men, in order, as he said, to organize an armed force to meet future exigencies, and to demonstrate, by practical experience, the degree of facility with which the militia might be trained to service. The companies were to consist of one captain, two subalterns, two sergeants, one drummer, and thirty-five rank and file. In General Brock's address to the officers of these companies, he said: "Assisted by your zeal, prudence and intelligence, I entertain the pleasing hope of meeting with very considerable success, and of being able to establish the sound policy of rendering permanent a mode of military instruction little burdensome to individuals, and in every way calculated to secure a powerful internal defence against hostile aggression."

The arms and accoutrements for the flank companies were to be obtained from Fort Erie. General Brock also asked for clothing for them from the king's stores. As to their training, they were to drill six times a month, and as there was no provision for remunerating the men, Brock asked that the

commissariat should issue rations for the number actually present at exercise.

This organization proved a very useful measure, as the flank companies were ready when the war broke out. The numbers embodied at first were about seven hundred; when the companies were completed they might be reckoned at eighteen hundred.

During the winter of 1811-12, military works were going on with all speed throughout the province. Artificers were preparing temporary magazines for the reception of spare powder at Fort George and Kingston, the proposed fortifications at York were begun, and ship-building was in progress. "Be ready," was the watchword for the spring.

CHAPTER XV

CANADA'S DEFENCE

ON February 3rd, 1812, the House of Assembly at York was opened with all due state and ceremony, and a brilliant suite attended the acting governor. In his speech General Brock deplored the treatment of England by the United States, from whose harbours English vessels were interdicted, while they were open to those of her foes. Although he still hoped that war would be averted, he recommended measures that would defeat the aggressions of the enemy and secure internal peace. He appealed to the sons of those who had stood by England in the past, not that he thought it was necessary to animate their patriotism, but in order to dispel any apprehension in the country of the possibility of England deserting them. On February 12th General Brock wrote to Colonel Baynes: "The assurance which I gave in my speech at the opening of the legislature, of England co-operating in the defence of this province, has infused the utmost confidence, and I have reason at this moment to look for the acquiescence of the two Houses to every measure I may think necessary to recommend for the peace and defence of the country."

General Brock's hopeful anticipation of help from

England was not realized during 1812. The preparations for defence were woefully hampered by the instructions which Sir George Prevost undoubtedly received from the home government to avoid expenditure. He was limited as to expenses, and repeatedly cautioned not to provoke hostilities. Consent had been given to the completion of the defences of Quebec, but while millions were given to help Spain, and Austria, and Russia, and Prussia against Napoleon, Canada was left without money or soldiers. There was neither money to meet the cost of a war, nor troops to carry it through with any chance of success. Nor was it in a quarrel of her own that Canada was engaged, but the quarrel was forced upon her because she was the most vulnerable part of the British empire.

The measures that General Brock hoped to carry through the House were: (1) A militia supplementary act; (2) the suspension of the *habeas corpus*; (3) an alien law, and the offer of a reward for the apprehension of deserters. He knew well that there were traitors even in the House of Assembly and among the militia, men who had recently come from the United States and whose sympathies were with the latter country. He was convinced that it was advisable to require every one to take an oath of allegiance abjuring all foreign powers. He wrote: "If I succeed in all this I shall claim some praise, but I am not without my fears."

The administrator was doomed to be disappointed

in securing the support of the two Houses of the legislature to the measures he had thought necessary to recommend. The bill to introduce the oath of abjuration was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. The bill for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* was lost by a small majority, partly because the members did not see its necessity, not believing that war would take place. General Brock thought that the reason for the acts not passing was the great influence the numerous settlers from the United States possessed over the decision of the Lower House. He thought this influence was alarming, and could be remedied only by encouraging "real subjects" to settle in the province. He recommended that grants of Crown lands should be given to any Scotch emigrants who should enlist in the Glengarry Fencibles. He wrote to Colonel Baynes at Quebec concerning the disappointment he felt at the failure of the assembly to pass the bills he wanted. In reply, Baynes said: "Sir George, who is well versed in the fickle and intractable disposition of public assemblies, feels more regret than disappointment. He has a very delicate card to play himself with his House of Assembly here, who would fain keep up the farce of being highly charmed with his amiable disposition and affable manners."

In March, 1812, congress met, and the president's message was decidedly hostile. It began by charging that British cruisers had been in the continued

practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it. This was the first time the government of the United States had alleged impressment as its chief grievance, or had announced its intention to claim redress.

There was another grievance that the president brought forward in his message. It will be remembered that in 1808 one John Henry went to the United States from Canada on a secret mission, and entered into a correspondence with Mr. Ryland, the secretary of Sir James Craig, relative to the feeling in the United States at that time as to war with England. Henry wrote fourteen letters in all, none of which were important or incriminating to the government of Canada. They were merely what an ordinary journalist might write on public affairs. Nevertheless he seems to have placed a high value on his services, and not receiving from Sir James Craig as much as he expected, he went to England in 1811 and claimed a reward from the government there. This was refused, and he was told to apply to the successor of Sir James Craig as better able to appreciate the ability and success with which his mission had been executed. Enraged by this refusal, Henry determined to sell his documents to the United States. On his way back to America for this purpose he had as a fellow-passenger a young Frenchman, Count Edward de Crillon, who represented himself as belonging to a noble

French family. To this man Henry confided his woes and grievances, and met with much sympathy. The count agreed to accompany him to Washington and assist him in selling his papers to the government there. He also persuaded Henry to purchase from him his family estate of "Castle St. Martine," to which he might retire and renew the health and strength which had been shattered by anxiety and the ingratitude of his country. All the payment the count would ask was the money from the American government which Henry would receive by his assistance from the authorities at Washington. Henry joyfully agreed. De Crillon, who had most engaging manners, was welcomed by the best society at the capital, who lavished on him all the attentions that his rank demanded. The memory of Lafayette still lingered in the United States, and the count touched the right chord in the national heart. By his clever persuasion, Secretary Monroe paid over the sum of fifty thousand dollars for the papers, which were made use of by the president to fan the flame of war.

Madison in his address informed congress that while the Americans were at peace with the British, the governor of Canada had employed an emissary to traverse the states of the union, and especially Massachusetts, in order to excite the people to revolt. A thousand copies of the letters were ordered to be printed and distributed. The English government was charged in the press with foment-

ing disaffection, intriguing with the disaffected to destroy the union, and draw the eastern states into an alliance with Great Britain.[1] Sir George Prevost wrote on the subject to Lord Liverpool: "Before your Lordship receives this letter you will probably be in possession of all the circumstances relative to Henry's treachery. From Mr. Henry's residence in this country and his religion, from his thorough acquaintance with the Canadian character and language, and, above all, from his deep resentment against the government, Bonaparte may be inclined to give him a favourable reception in France, with a view to his keeping his talents in reserve to suit the exigencies of the government of the United States, in event of an alliance being formed between these countries against England."

The sequel of the story, which was not known until long afterwards, was that de Crillon was an impostor. When the money was paid over to him he disappeared, leaving with Henry the worthless title deeds to an imaginary estate. Even in this small affair one can trace the hand of the astute master of Europe, for the so-called Count de Crillon turned out to be an agent of Napoleon's secret police!

[1] *Henry's letter to H. W. Ryland, April 14th, 1808.*—"From all I have been able to collect I can with confidence infer that in case of a war the states on our borders may be detached from the union, and, like the Germanic body, each state consult its own safety and interest."

The hostile address of the president, and the preparations for war that were being made throughout the United States, inspired Brock to fresh exertions for the defence of his province, which would undoubtedly be the part of Canada to be first attacked. No possible precaution was omitted, there was no weak spot that was not strengthened to the best of his ability. He spared himself no fatigue. One day at York, engaged in the duties of his office, the next day he would be at Fort George superintending the defences of that frontier, reviewing and animating the militia, giving the word of praise where it was needed, cheering the timid, awing the disloyal. Even the Indians were not forgotten, and a visit was paid to the Grand River, where were settled the Six Nation Indians, with whom he was extremely popular.[1]

The boasts in congress of the easy conquest of Canada, and the insolence of the press in the United States, had roused an intense national feeling among both the French and English inhabitants. In Quebec the corps known as "The Voltigeurs" had been raised and placed under the command of Major de Salaberry. We read in the papers of the day that it was completed with a despatch "worthy of the ancient warlike spirit of the country."

[1] The Iroquois, after being driven by the Americans from their territory south of Lake Ontario, received a grant of land from Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1784 on the Grand River between Lakes Erie and Ontario. Some also settled on the Thames, which falls into Lake St. Clair.

In Lower Canada, by the militia law, the province was divided into fifty-two divisions. All males from sixteen to sixty were required to enrol their names with a captain of companies mustered to serve a year. This was the sedentary militia, consisting of about fifty thousand men. The incorporated militia, by an act passed May 19th, 1812, was fixed at two thousand men, but was increased afterwards. This body was chosen by ballot from unmarried men in the sedentary militia, the term of service to be two years, which was afterwards increased to three years. No substitutes were permitted to serve. In the Upper Province, with some trifling modifications, the same system prevailed, but on account of the more scanty population the force was proportionately less.

The commander-in-chief still preached caution and forbearance. In his letter to General Brock, of March 31st, 1812, he says: "I have carefully examined Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell's report on the American fort at Detroit, written at your desire from information he had received during a residence of a few days in the vicinity. Whatever temptations may offer to induce you to depart from a system strictly defensive, I must pointedly request that under the existing circumstances of our relation with the government of the United States, you must not allow them to lead you into any measure bearing the character of offence, even should a declaration of war be laid on the table of

congress by the president's influence, because I am informed by our minister at Washington there prevails throughout the United States a great unwillingness to enter upon hostilities, and also because the apparent neglect at Detroit might be but a bait to tempt us to an act of aggression, in its effects uniting parties, strengthening the power of the government of that country, and affording that assistance to the raising of men for the augmentation of the American army, without which their ability to raise an additional regiment is now questioned. You are nevertheless to persevere in your preparations for defence."

Three weeks later, in a letter to Lord Liverpool, Sir George Prevost's tone had changed, and he was inclined to think war was more imminent. He writes: "The recent passing of an embargo act in congress, the orders issued for the march of sixteen hundred men to reinforce the American positions on Lakes Erie and Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, indicate an inevitable disposition for hostilities, which have induced me to accept the services of five hundred Canadian youths, to be formed into a corps of light infantry, or voltigeurs." On the same date, the minister at Washington, Mr. Foster, wrote to Lord Castlereagh, who had succeeded the Marquis of Wellesley as secretary of war: "The militia in the northern, and particularly the eastern states, are well trained and armed. The general who has been lately appointed commander-

in-chief (Dearborn) is a heavy, unwieldy looking man, who was a major in the American revolutionary war, and was a prisoner in Canada. He has apparently accepted his appointment with great reluctance. There is a cannon foundry near here from which a hundred cannon have been lately sent to New York, many of them cast iron. They have fifty more now on hand. Considerable supplies are daily sending to Albany, the contractors having shipped for that place every barrel of beef and pork in the market."

On April 14th, the president of the United States placed an embargo on all American vessels for ninety days, so as to limit the number on the high seas, and also to enable them to man their ships of war and privateers. Their fastest merchant vessels were made into cruisers. The anti-war party in the United States, however, still hoped that the orders-in-council would be repealed or at least some friendly message sent from the English government. But no friendly message came.

In England at this time there was an interregnum of confusion. It was on May 8th, 1812, that Spencer Perceval, the prime minister, was assassinated. A letter of that date says: "Never has the British government been in the situation it now is, Mr. Perceval dead, and all public offices in confusion, and the great men caballing one against the other. If they repeal the orders-in-council, the American trade will flourish beyond all former periods. They

will then have the whole commerce of the continent in their hands, and the British, though blockading with powerful armaments the hostile ports of Europe, will behold fleets of American merchantmen enter in safety the harbours of the enemy, and carry on a brisk and lucrative trade, whilst the English, who command the ocean and are sole masters of the deep, must quietly suffer two-thirds of their shipping to be dismantled, and to lie snug and useless in little rivers or alongside huge but empty warehouses. Their sailors, in order to earn a little salt junk and flinty biscuit, must spread themselves like vagabonds over the face of the earth, and enter the service of any nation. If, on the contrary, they continue to enforce their orders, trade will still remain in its present deplorable state. An American war will follow, and poor Canada will be obliged to bear the whole brunt of American vengeance."[1]

On April 21st, 1812, the Regent had agreed to revoke the orders-in-council if the Berlin and Milan decrees should be repealed. It was June 15th, however, when Mr. Brougham, in the House of Commons, moved for their repeal. They were revoked on June 23rd, a few days after the actual declaration of war by the United States.

In May the English government did not apprehend war. So little did they think it was coming that both the 41st and 49th Regiments were ordered

[1] Thos. G. Ridout, in "Ten Years of Upper Canada," p. 114.

back for service in Portugal. In July even Lord Liverpool, the new prime minister, wrote that he hoped there would be no occasion for the sacrifices that the people of Lower Canada were willing to make for the defence of their country, and that the repeal of the orders-in-council would bring about a better feeling between the two countries. He directed that preparations for defence should be delayed, and that the proposed raising of the Glengarry Regiment should be given up. When that letter arrived at its destination, war was in progress. It was well for Canada that by the foresight of one man in command there, preparations had been made to meet it.

In April news came from Washington that five hundred militia from the state of New York were to be sent to Niagara, five hundred to Black Rock, opposite Fort Erie, and six hundred to Lake Champlain. It was thought that this measure would provoke hostilities, as it looked as if the Americans were determined to pick a quarrel. Again and again Sir George Prevost cautioned Brock to use every effort to prevent a collision. He was evidently afraid that his energetic colleague would precipitate hostilities.

In spite of his conviction that the sooner events came to a climax the better for Canada, General Brock writes in obedience to the orders of his commanding officer: "I entreat you to believe that no act within my control shall afford the govern-

ment of the United States a legitimate pretext to add to the clamour so artfully raised against England." Brock's keen military instinct had divined what the enemy would first attempt, and he had urged upon Sir George Prevost the importance of striking the first blow. Sir George apparently agreed with Brock, yet held back, seemingly in doubt as to the line he should pursue. He was, no doubt, hampered by his instructions from England. In a letter to Colonel Baynes, Brock repeats: "I declare my full conviction that unless Detroit and Michilimackinac be both in our possession at the commencement of hostilities, not only the district of Amherstburg, but most probably the whole country as far as Kingston must be evacuated." As to arms for the militia, he urged that they should be sent to Upper Canada with all speed. He says: "I have not a musket more than will suffice to arm the active part of the militia from Kingston westwards. I have to request, therefore, that the number of arms may be sent according to enclosed requisition to place on the communication between Glengarry and Kingston. Every man capable of carrying a musket along the whole of that line ought to be prepared to act." He wanted to find an enterprising, intelligent commander for that district, and afterwards selected Major-General Shaw, in whom he had much confidence. As for himself, he intended to give his attention to Amherstburg and Niagara. He hoped that both the 41st and the 49th

would be placed at his disposal. If so, he would send the former to Amherstburg. He thought it was impossible to send a force from the latter place to reduce Michilimackinac, for no vessel could pass the river St. Clair unless the British occupied both banks of the river. He then suggested a plan which had been contemplated some years before by Sir James Craig and himself, namely, that of transporting a small force by the Ottawa. He advocated sending forty or fifty of the 49th Light Company, and a detachment of artillery by canoe from Montreal. The North-West Company had, in 1808, promised them transport.

With the attention to detail for which Brock was remarkable, he ordered the purchase at Amherstburg of two thousand bushels of corn. It had to be purchased on the American side, and was absolutely necessary in case of war. He also ordered the purchase of horses for the car brigade, as this was a service, he said, which required infinite trouble and practice to bring to any degree of perfection.

This car brigade was a volunteer artillery company of farmers' sons who had offered their services to Brock, together with their draught horses, free of expense. The company was completed in July, fully equipped, and placed under Captain Holcroft of the Royal Artillery. General Brock also ordered a minute survey of stores to be made at Amherstburg and other posts. One effect of the embargo had been to keep forty thousand barrels of flour,

the product of the southern shores of Lake Ontario, from the Montreal market. Most rigorous measures were being used by the United States officials to prevent the least infringement of the embargo on the Niagara River. Armed men in civilians' clothing were constantly patrolling the shore. An idle boy was said to have wantonly fired with ball from the Canadian side of the river at the guard opposite Queenston. The Americans were guilty of a similar outrage by firing at night into a room where a woman was sitting.

So the winter and spring passed in constant anxiety and preparation. In May Brock wrote that nothing but the public voice was restraining the United States from commencing hostilities. He thought it probable they would seize some island in the channel. It was reported that six companies of Ohio militia were on their way to Detroit. Fort Niagara had been reinforced, and barracks were building at Black Rock, opposite Fort Erie.

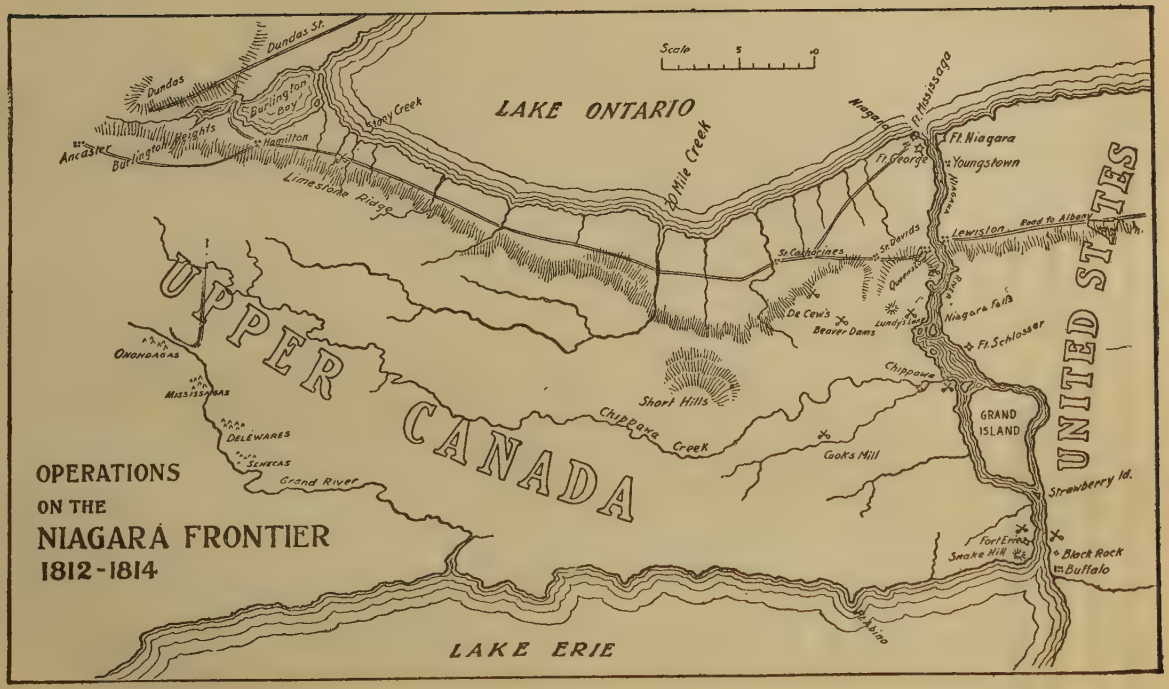
The Indians were now actively engaged against the Americans on the frontier, and Brock thought the neutral policy pursued towards them by the government of Canada was not wise. Each day that the officers of the department were restrained from interfering in their concerns, each time that they advised peace, and withheld the accustomed supply of ammunition, their influence diminished. He thought the British would lose the interest of the Indians if they remained inactive. "I have always

considered," he says, "that the reduction of Detroit would be a signal for a cordial coöperation on the part of the Indians, and if we be not in sufficient force to effect this object, no reliance ought to be placed on them."

The inspection of the king's stores showed they were at a very low ebb. There were in them scarcely any articles of use or comfort. Blankets, hammocks, kettles ought to be purchased. Tents were urgently needed. In a letter to Colonel Baynes, General Brock says that he thought the disposition of the people throughout the country was very good. The flank companies had been instantly completed with volunteers, and he hoped to extend the system, but he ends with, "My means are very limited."

There was great inconvenience for want of specie in Upper Canada, an evil which was increased by the embargo. In case of war there would be none to defray ordinary expenses. General Brock had to consider the best means of meeting this difficulty, and consulted some of the leading merchants of the country as to the possibility of a paper currency. He thought it would be generally approved of throughout the province, and that the circulation of ten or fifteen thousand pounds would meet present emergencies. His representations resulted in a number of gentlemen of credit forming themselves into what was called the Niagara and Queenston Association, and several thousand pounds were issued in the shape of bank notes, which were cur-

rently received throughout the country, and afterwards redeemed with army bills. So little by little the resourceful commander met every difficulty, and prepared himself for the inevitable conflict.


OPERATIONS
ON THE
NIAGARA FRONTIER
1812-1814
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
UPPER CANADA
UNITED STATES
Scale
5
10
Dundas St.
Dundas
Burlington Bay
Hamilton
Ancaster
Burlington Heights
Limestone Ridge
Stony Creek
10 Mile Creek
Niagara R.
Ft. Mississaga
Ft. George
Ft. Niagara
Youngstown
Lewiston
Road to Albany
St. Catharines
St. Davids
Queenston
De Cew's
Beaver Dams
Lundy's Lane
Niagara Falls
Ft. Schlosser
Chippawa
Short Hills
Chippawa Creek
Cooks Mill
GRAND ISLAND
Strawberry Id.
Fort Erie
Snake Hill
Black Rock
Buffalo
Onondagas
Mississagas
Delewares
Senecas
Grand River
Erie

CHAPTER XVI

ON THE FRONTIER

Let every man who swings an axe,
Or follows at the plough,
Abandon farm and homestead,
And grasp a rifle now!
We'll trust the God of Battles
Although our force be small;
Arouse ye, brave Canadians,
And answer to my call!

Let mothers, though with breaking hearts,
Give up their gallant sons;
Let maidens bid their lovers go,
And wives their dearer ones!
Then rally to the frontier
And form a living wall;
Arouse ye, brave Canadians,
And answer to my call!

—*J. D. Edgar,* "This Canada of Ours."

THE frontier of Canada to be defended, reckoning from Fort Joseph at the head of Lake Huron to Quebec, was over twelve hundred miles in length. The number of regulars in both the Canadas was a little less than five thousand. The 8th, the 41st, the 49th, the 100th Regiments, the 10th Royal Veterans, some artillery and the Canadian, Newfoundland and Glengarry Fencibles composed the force, of which about fourteen hundred and fifty were in Upper Canada, divided between Forts

Joseph, Amherstburg, Chippawa, Erie, York and Kingston. The most assailable frontier was the river Detroit from Sandwich to Amherstburg, the river Niagara from Fort Erie to Fort George, and the St. Lawrence from Kingston to St. Regis where the American boundary touches the St. Lawrence. Between that place and Quebec was an impenetrable forest. The population of Upper Canada was about seventy thousand, of which eleven thousand might be called out as militia, although not more than four thousand were ready for service. This, then, was the material of which Brock had to make an army of defence. It looked out of the question for it to be an army of attack.

Early in May a warning note came from Mr. Thomas Barclay, the English consul-general at New York. He wrote to Sir George Prevost: "You may consider war as inevitable. It will take place in July at the latest. Upper Canada will be the first object. Military stores of all kinds and provisions are daily moving hence towards the lines. Thirteen thousand five hundred militia, the quota of the state, are drawn and ordered to be in readiness at a moment's notice."

During this month Brock had hurried up ordnance and other stores to St. Joseph, and had ordered Captain Roberts, in command there, to be on his guard. At Amherstburg there were about seven hundred militia, rank and file. The general proposed to increase the garrison there by two

hundred men from Fort George and York, and guns were sent also from those places, relying upon others coming from Kingston by the *Earl of Moira.*

On June 1st General Hull, the civil governor of the Michigan territory, and then recently made brigadier-general, in command of about two thousand men, began his march for the Michigan territory from Dayton, Ohio. On June 7th he arrived at Urbana, where he was joined by the 4th Regimeut. Lieut.-Colonel McArthur, with his regiment of Ohio volunteers, had been ordered to open a road as far as the Scioto River, where two blockhouses, joined by a strong stockade, were called Fort McArthur. General Hull's march lay for part of the way through thick and trackless forests. On June 18th war was formally declared by the United States against England, but news of this did not reach Sir George Prevost at Quebec until the 26th of that month, and then it did not come officially but by a letter to the secretary, H. W. Ryland, from the firm of Forsyth, Richardson & Company, and McTavish & McGillivray of the North-West and South-West Fur Companies. The letter was as follows: "Montreal, June 24th. You will be pleased to inform the governor-general that we have just received by an express which left New York on the 20th and Albany on Sunday last at 6 a.m., the account that war against Great Britain is declared." Fortunately General Brock was not left to learn the news by the circuitous channel of the governor-

general. He, too, had a communication sent him by express from Niagara. It came to Thomas Clark from John Jacob Astor, New York, and was immediately sent on to General Brock, who received it in York on June 26th.[1] In a few hours two companies of the 41st Regiment in garrison at York were embarked in boats to the Niagara frontier, while the general assembled his council, called an extra session of the legislature, and then in a small open boat, with his brigade major, Evans, and his aide-de-camp, Captain Glegg, crossed the lake, (thirty miles) to Fort George, where he established his headquarters. Colonel Baynes wrote to him as soon as the intelligence reached Sir George, and said His Excellency was inclined to believe the report, but it was not official. Colonel Baynes also reported that six large canoes of the North-West Company going to the upper lakes by the Ottawa, to receive their furs, had offered to accommodate six soldiers in each canoe, in order to reinforce St. Joseph, but Sir George did not think it well to weaken the 49th by sending them. The letter ends, "Sir George desires me to say that he does not attempt to prescribe specific rules for your guidance —they must be directed by your discretion, and the circumstances of the time—the present order of the day with him is *forbearance.*"

[1] Mr. Astor had extensive fur interests in Canada, and obtained early and private information from Washington in order to prevent his store of furs being sent from their dépôts.

NEWS FROM QUEBEC

On July 3rd there was still doubt about war being really declared, but Colonel Baynes writes to General Brock on that date from Quebec: "We have a report here of your having commenced operations by levelling the American fort at Niagara. His Excellency is most anxious to hear good and recent news from your quarter. The flank companies here are on the march, and two thousand militia will form a chain of posts from St. Johns to Laprairie. The town militia of Montreal and Quebec, to the amount of three thousand in each city, have volunteered, are being embodied and drilled, and will take their part in garrison duty to relieve the troops. The proclamation for declaring martial law is prepared and will speedily be issued. All aliens will be required to take the oath of allegiance or immediately quit the province. Our cash is at its last issue, and a substitute of paper must perforce be resorted to."

General Brock did not wait to receive official instructions from the commander-in-chief, but immediately issued his orders for the disposal of his scanty force. He called out the flank companies, consisting of eight hundred well drilled men, and also sent an express to Captain Roberts at Fort Joseph with instructions to attempt the capture of Michilimackinac.

The district general order from Niagara on June 27th, was as follows: "Colonel Procter will assume the command of the troops between Niagara and

Fort Erie. The Hon. Colonel Claus will command the militia stationed between Niagara and Queenston, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clark from Queenston to Fort Erie. The commissariat at their respective posts will issue rations and fuel for the number actually present. The car brigade and the provincial cavalry are included in this order. The detachment of the 41st, stationed at the two and four-mile points, will be relieved by an equal number of the 1st Lincoln militia to-morrow morning. It is recommended to the militia to bring blankets with them on service. The troops will be kept in a constant state of readiness for service, and Colonel Procter will direct the necessary guards and patrols which are to be made down the bank and close to the water's edge. Lieutenant-Colonel Nichol is appointed quartermaster-general to the militia forces, with the same pay and allowances as those granted to the adjutant-general."

The appointment of Colonel Nichol to this position is another instance of General Brock's foresight and judgment in choosing men for special work. In 1804, when Brock was a colonel in command at Fort George, this Mr. Nichol kept, in the village near by, a small shop or general store, where all sorts of wares were sold. He was a clever little Scotsman, and the colonel soon became his warm friend, and invited him often to dine with him at the mess. At this time there was a menace of war, and Colonel Brock soon discovered that his friend

had a very good knowledge of the country. At his request Mr. Nichol drew up a statistical account of Upper Canada, showing its resources in men, horses, provisions, and its most vulnerable and assailable points. The sketch was in fact a military report, embracing every detail which the commander of an army would desire to have in the event of a war. The statement proved most valuable in after years to General Brock, and now that he was choosing his men for service in the various posts required, Colonel Nichol, to the surprise of some who thought themselves entitled to the position, was given an appointment where his particular qualities would be of use. Lieutenant-Colonel Nichol had been in command of the 2nd Norfolk Militia, a regiment composed almost entirely of native Americans, and naturally not much to be depended on at the beginning of the war. Colonel Nichol, in a letter to Captain Glegg, gives his idea of how to manage such a regiment. He says: "You know well, sir, that in a militia composed as ours is of independent yeomanry, it would be both impolitic and useless to attempt to introduce the strict discipline of the line. Just and fair conduct and a conciliatory disposition on the part of their commanding officer will do much, and this was the line I had marked out for myself."

Strange to say, the official communication of the declaration of war did not reach Sir George Prevost until about July 7th, at Montreal. He writes on

that date to General Brock: "It was only on my arrival here that I received Mr. Foster's notification of the congress of the United States having declared war against Great Britain." The actual declaration took place on June 18th, 1812. The vote in the American senate was nineteen to thirteen, while in the lower house it was seventy-nine to forty-nine. So unpopular was it in Massachusetts that on the receipt of the news the flags in the harbour of Boston were placed at half-mast. The declaration of war did not reach England until July 30th, and when it arrived, the government, thinking that the revocation of the orders-in-council would bring a suspension of hostilities, only ordered the detention of American ships and property. It was not until October 13th that directions were issued for general reprisals against the ships, goods and citizens of the United States.

Colonel Baynes writes on July 8th, acknowledging a letter from Brock of the 3rd: "Only four days from York." He continues, "We have felt extremely anxious about you ever since we have learnt of the actual declaration of war, which has been so long threatened that we never believed it would ever seriously take place. Even now it is the prevailing opinion that offensive measures are not likely to be speedily adopted against this country."

At that moment General Hull, who had received news of the declaration of war on June 26th, was preparing to enter Canada. On June 24th the

American general wrote, "I feel a confidence that the force under my command will be superior to any which can be opposed to it. It now exceeds two thousand rank and file." On June 30th he reached a village on the broad Miami, and engaged a small schooner there to take the baggage on to Detroit, while he continued his march with the troops. On July 4th his army reached the Huron River, twenty-one miles from Detroit, and the next day encamped at Springwells, four miles from the town. Here six hundred Michigan militia joined him. His order from Washington was: "Should the force under your command be equal to the enterprise, consistent with the safety of your own post, you will take possession of Malden, and extend your conquests as circumstances may justify." Hull did not think himself equal to the reduction of Fort Malden. On the 12th he passed over the Detroit River, and established his headquarters in Colonel Baby's house. Colonel Baby was then absent attending to his parliamentary duties in York.

One can hardly realize in these days of rapid communication how difficult it was then to obtain information of what was happening in different parts of the province, or to convey orders. Much depended on the individual capacity of those in charge of distant posts, and a certain latitude had to be allowed them in carrying out instructions from headquarters. Seven hundred miles from York and about fifty miles north-east of Michilimackinac

was a lonely outpost on the island of St. Joseph, at the head of Lake Huron. A small company of the 10th Royal Veteran Battalion was stationed here under the command of Captain Roberts. On June 26th, from Fort George, General Brock sent a despatch to that officer, giving him orders to attack Michilimackinac, the island lying in the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan. On the 27th this order was suspended, but on the 28th it was renewed. On the very day this letter was received, another dated June 25th arrived at Fort Joseph from Sir George Prevost, ordering Captain Roberts to act only on the defensive. This was rather a puzzling position for the captain, but he knew well the importance General Brock attached to the taking of the island, and he resolved to act on the instructions received in the letter of the 28th. He was confirmed in his intentions by another letter from General Brock, dated July 4th, in which he was told to use his discretion either to attack or defend.

On July 16th he therefore set out with a flotilla of boats and canoes in which were embarked forty-five officers and men of the 10th Veterans, about one hundred and eighty Canadian *voyageurs* under Toussaint Pothier, the agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a goodly number of Indians, the whole convoyed by a brig, the *Caledonia*, belonging to the North-West Company. Under cover of night they approached the white cliffs of Mac-

kinaw. It is a true Gibraltar of the northern lakes, accessible only on one side, and had sufficient time been allowed, it could no doubt have been easily defended. Its garrison consisted of sixty-one officers and men under command of a Captain Hanks. The expedition had been so cleverly managed that the enemy were completely taken by surprise, and at dawn of July 17th, the fort, which by the treaty of 1794 had been ceded to the Americans, once more came under the British flag. It was the first operation of the war, and a most important one. By it the wavering tribes of Indians in the North-West were confirmed in their allegiance to Great Britain, and these proved a very powerful aid in the coming contest. Military stores of all kinds were found in the fort, also seven hundred packs of furs, for this was the rendezvous of the traders of the North-West. The news of this success did not, of course, reach Fort George until the end of the month, while it was August 3rd when the paroled men from Mackinaw reached Detroit and bore the first news of the disaster to General Hull.

From Fort George, early in July, General Brock wrote to the commander-in-chief that the militia were improving in discipline, but showed a degree of impatience under restraint. "So great was the clamour," he says, "to return and attend to their farms, that I found myself in some measure compelled to sanction the departure of a large proportion, and I am not without my apprehension that

the remainder will, in defiance of the law which only imposes a fine of twenty dollars, leave the service the moment the harvest begins."

The general, however, knew how to deal with his homespun warriors, and instead of blaming the men his general order of July 4th gave them the word of praise they needed. He also gave them the word of sympathy that showed them he realized how hard it was for them to leave their homes and their ungathered harvests, and spend their days and nights in tedious drill and outpost duty, without tents, without blankets, some even without shoes, which at that time could scarcely be provided in the country. His order ran as follows: "Major-General Brock has witnessed with the highest satisfaction the orderly and regular conduct of such of the militia as have been called into actual service, and their ardent desire to acquire military instruction. He is sensible that they are exposed to great privations, and every effort will be immediately made to supply their most pressing wants, but such are the circumstances of the country that it is absolutely necessary that every inhabitant should have recourse to his own means to furnish himself with blankets and other necessaries. The major-general calls the serious attention of every militiaman to the efforts being made by the enemy to destroy and lay waste this flourishing country. They must be sensible of the great stake they have to contend for, and will by their conduct convince the enemy that they

are not desirous of bowing their necks to a foreign yoke. The major-general is determined to devote his best energies to the defence of the country, and has no doubt that, supported by the zeal, activity and determination of the loyal inhabitants of this province, he will successfully repel every hostile attack, and preserve to them inviolate all that they hold dear. From the experience of the past the major-general is convinced that should it be necessary to call forth a further proportion of the militia to aid their fellow-subjects in defence of the province, they will come forward with equal alacrity to share the danger and the honour." Thus he took the rough metal at his hand, and out of it forged a weapon of strength that did good service through three years of trial.

The position of affairs in Upper Canada in the early part of July was extremely unpromising. About four thousand American troops under the command of Brigadier-General Wadsworth were on the Niagara frontier between Black Rock and Fort Niagara, with headquarters at Lewiston, directly opposite Queenston. A report had come to General Brock of the bombardment of Sandwich (which was not true), but a further report came of its occupation by the American general. President Madison announced in his address to congress that General Hull had passed into Canada with a prospect of easy and victorious progress. From Sandwich Hull issued a proclamation to the people of

Canada, offering the alternatives of "peace, liberty and security, or war, slavery and destruction."[1] Colonel St. George, who commanded the Canadian militia on the Detroit frontier, reported to General Brock that they had behaved badly and that many of them had joined the invading army. There is no doubt that on that western peninsula there were many American settlers, bound by no tie of patriotism to Canada, whose sympathies were entirely with the United States. A very different feeling prevailed in that part of the country which had been mainly settled by Loyalists after the American revolution, and also where General Brock was personally known and where his influence extended. He wrote to Sir George his impressions about the loyalty of the population of Upper Canada, and said that although a great number were sincere in their desire to defend the country, there were many others who were indifferent, or so completely American as to rejoice in the prospect of a change of government.

Another disquieting report came at this time of the feeling among the Indians on the Grand River. They had heard of General Hull's successful entry into the country, his emissaries were already among them, and they had decided to remain neutral.

The American press was now full of boastful

[1] Hull's proclamation to the people of Canada runs: "You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression and restored to the dignified station of free men."

predictions of the early fall of Canada. Dr. Eustis, the American secretary of war, said: "We can take the Canadas without soldiers, we have only to send officers into the province, and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard." Henry Clay said: "It is absurd to suppose we shall not succeed in our enterprise against the enemy's provinces. We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean; and the way to conquer her on the ocean is to drive her from the land. I am not for stopping at Quebec or anywhere else, but I would take the continent from them. I wish never to see a peace till we do."

In the face of all this assertion, and with a knowledge that a handful of regulars and a few thousand undisciplined militia were all that he had to drive the invaders back, it was hard for the general in command to keep a confident air, and to prevent the people dependent on him from giving up in despair. To Sir George Prevost Brock wrote: "It is scarcely possible that the government of the United States will be so inactive or supine as to permit the present limited (British) force to remain in possession of the country. Whatever can be done to preserve it, or to delay its fall, your Excellency may rest assured will be done." "I talk loud and look big," he laughingly says in a letter to Colonel Baynes.

General Brock lost no time in sending Colonel

Procter to Amherstburg, where he was expected to arrive on July 21st. Of that officer he says: "I have great dependence on his decision, but fear he will arrive too late to be of much service." The letter, which was to the commander-in-chief, continues: "The position which Colonel St. George occupies is very good, and infinitely more formidable than Fort Malden itself. Should he be compelled to retire I know of no other alternative for him than embarking in the king's vessels and proceeding to Fort Erie. Your Excellency will readily perceive the critical situation in which the reduction of Amherstburg will place me. I shall endeavour to exert myself to the utmost to overcome every difficulty. I now express my apprehensions on a supposition that the slender means your Excellency possesses will not admit of diminution, consequently, that I need not look for reinforcements. The enemy seem more inclined to work on the flanks, aware that if he succeeds every other part must soon submit."

Just before the news came of General Hull's occupation of Sandwich, Sir George had written to Brock, still counselling forbearance. He said: "While the states are not united themselves as to the war, it would be unwise to commit any act which might unite them. Notwithstanding these observations, I have to assure you of my perfect confidence in your measures for the preservation of Upper Canada. All your wants shall be supplied as

fast as possible, except money, of which I have none."

Parliament was now sitting at Quebec, and Sir George Prevost was obliged to be at that place, while General de Rottenburg remained in Montreal. A small reinforcement of troops had arrived in Canada, consisting of the 103rd Regiment, a weak battalion of Royal Scots, and some recruits for the 100th. The arrival of the 103rd allowed the remainder of the 49th to proceed to Upper Canada. "Oh, for another regiment," Brock sighed. The naval force available in Upper Canada was a small squadron on Lake Ontario, consisting of the *Royal George* of twenty-four guns, the brig *Moira* sixteen guns, the *Prince Regent*, which had just been built and equipped at York, and two other small schooners. On Lake Erie the *Queen Charlotte* was at Fort Malden, and the sloop of war *Hunter* had been sent to the straits of Mackinaw.

General Hull's boastful proclamation from Sandwich had not been received with the enthusiasm he had expected from the population of Upper Canada. A counter appeal had been issued from Fort George by General Brock, ending in these words: "Beholding, as we do, the flame of patriotism burning from one end of the Canadas to the other, we cannot but entertain the most pleasing anticipations. Our enemies have indeed said that they can subdue the country by a proclamation, but it is our part to prove to them that they are

sadly mistaken; that the population is determinedly hostile, and that the few who might be otherwise inclined will find it to their safety to be faithful."

It was well to be cheerful and confident in the face of the difficulties that surrounded him, and this spirit was shared by his followers. Once more he writes to the commander-in-chief: "The alacrity and good temper displayed when the militia marched to the frontier has infused in the minds of the enemy a very different sentiment of the disposition of the inhabitants, who he (the American general) was led to believe would, on the first summons, declare themselves an American state."

On July 20th news came of an unexpected success. It will be remembered that General Hull on his march to Detroit had left his heavy baggage and stores to be conveyed by a schooner, *Cayahoga*, from the Miami River to Detroit. The boats of the *Hunter*, under the command of Lieutenant Rolette, came across this schooner and succeeded in capturing it. General Brock wrote at once to Sir George Prevost to tell him that Colonel St. George had reported the capture and had sent him some interesting documents found on board. From the correspondence taken he judged the force at Detroit to consist of about two thousand men. It was reported also that the enemy were making numerous and extensive inroads from Sandwich up the river Thames. He had therefore sent Captain Chambers with about fifty of the 41st to the Moravian town,

where he had directed two hundred militia to join him. He was most anxious to set off himself for Amherstburg, but was obliged to wait for the meeting of the legislature, which was summoned for July 27th.

As to making an attack on Fort Niagara, which had been suggested, General Brock did not think it was of immediate consequence. He writes: "It can be demolished when found necessary in half an hour." His guns were in position and he considered his front to be perfectly safe. In the meantime he was devoting himself to the training of the militia, to enable them to acquire some degree of discipline.

On July 22nd from Fort George, General Brock issued another proclamation as president of the province. It ran as follows: "The unprovoked declaration of war by the United States of America against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been followed by the actual invasion of this province, in a remote frontier of the western district, by a detachment of the armed forces of the United States. The officer commanding that detachment has thought proper to invite His Majesty's subjects not only to a quiet and unresisting submission, but insults them with a call to seek voluntarily the protection of that government.

"Where is the Canadian subject who can truly affirm to himself that he has been injured by the government of Great Britain in his person, his

liberty or his property? Where is to be found in any part of the world a growth so rapid in wealth and prosperity as this colony exhibits, settled not thirty years ago by a band of veterans exiled from their former possessions on account of their loyalty? Not a descendant of these brave people is to be found who under the fostering liberality of their sovereign has not acquired a property and means of enjoyment superior to what were possessed by his ancestors. This unequalled prosperity could not have been attained by the utmost liberality of the government or the persevering industry of the people, had not the maritime power of the mother country secured for its colonists a safe access to every market where the produce of their labour was in demand.

"The unavoidable and immediate consequence of a separation from Great Britain must be the loss of this inestimable advantage. What is offered you in exchange? To become a territory of the United States and share with them that exclusion from the ocean which the policy of their present government enforces. You are not even flattered with a prospect of participation in their boasted independence, and it is but too obvious that once excluded from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom, you must be re-annexed to the Dominion of France, from which the provinces of Canada were wrested by Great Britain, at a vast expense of blood and treasure, from no other motive than to relieve her ungrateful children from the oppression of a cruel

neighbour. This restitution to the empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted colonies, now the United States. The debt is still due and there can be no doubt the pledge has been renewed as a consideration for commercial advantages, or rather, as an expected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the commercial world. Are you prepared, inhabitants of Upper Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather, slaves to the despot who rules Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies to coöperate cordially with the king's regular forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having too easily parted with the richest inheritance on earth—a participation in the name, character and freedom of Britain.

"Let no man suppose that if in this unexpected struggle His Majesty's arms should be compelled to yield to an overwhelming force, the province will be abandoned. The endeared relation of its first settlers, the intrinsic value of its commerce, and the pretensions of its powerful rival to repossess the Canadas, are pledges that no peace will be established between the United States and Great Britain of which the restoration of these provinces does not make the most prominent condition."

On July 27th General Brock returned to York, where, attended by a numerous suite, he opened

the extra session of the legislature. His speech on that occasion rings like a trumpet note: "Gentlemen of the House of Assembly, we are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils, and vigour in our operations we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by free men enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their king and constitution, can never be conquered!"

CHAPTER XVII

A VIGOROUS COMMANDER

ON July 29th news arrived at York of the successful capture of Michilimackinac, and General Brock immediately sent a despatch announcing it to Sir George Prevost. He also informed him that the militia at York had volunteered for service to any part of the province, and he had selected a hundred to proceed at once to Long Point, Lake Erie. He thought that unless the enemy could be driven from Sandwich it would be impossible to avert the ruin of the country. He intended leaving himself on the 30th for Fort George, but would return the next day. On the same date Sir George wrote to him telling him that he had placed Major-General Sheaffe on the staff, and was sending him to Upper Canada to assist in the arduous service there. News had just arrived at Quebec of the revocation of the orders-in-council, as regarded America, and Sir George was inclined to moderate measures. In the meantime, on the American seaboard, and the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, stirring scenes were enacting.

Sir Thomas Saumarez, who had married a cousin of General Brock,[1] writes to him from Halifax that

[1] Sir Thomas Saumarez married, in 1787, Harriet, daughter of William Brock and Judith de Beauvoir.

he and his wife had safely arrived there, and considered themselves very fortunate at not having fallen into the enemy's hands, as war had been declared a week before they reached port. He says: "We came out in a very valuable ordnance store ship, which would have been a great acquisition to the enemy, and its loss would have been severely felt, as all the stores on board are much required. Our squadron on this station has been very active. Prizes arrive here daily, I could almost say hourly. The *Emulous* brought in ten yesterday, and thirty thousand dollars were found on some of them. Mr. Foster, the late ambassador to the states, has been here nearly a week, he is to sail for England today. The northern and eastern states are extremely inimical to, and dissatisfied with this war, so much so that there is reason to suppose they will dissolve the union shortly, and declare themselves totally independent of the southern and western states. The American privateers are extremely numerous and daring in this neighbourhood, and I am sorry to add they have proved but too successful, having captured several of our vessels bound to Quebec and New Brunswick, and some to this port. I received a note about an hour ago from Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, who sailed from here last Sunday with his wife and family, for Quebec, being appointed inspecting field officer in Canada, to inform me that he had been made prisoner by an American privateer. Most of our ships are looking out for the

squadron under Commodore Rodgers, who is supposed to have sailed from New York with a view to intercept our West India fleet. A transport with a hundred and forty men of the Royals, from the West Indies to Quebec, was boarded by the *Essex*, an American frigate, about ten days ago, and permitted to proceed on condition that the master of the vessel promised to pay a ransom of twelve thousand dollars for her, and that the officers commanding should consider themselves on parole, and give their assurance that the troops would not fight against the Americans during the war."

This was a rather aggravating piece of news when men and money were needed so badly.

While General Brock was in York attending to the meeting of the legislature, affairs at Fort George were in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Myers, an officer in whom he had great confidence. "Niagara on the British side, or as it is sometimes called, Newark," so an American soldier writes, "looks wicked everywhere. It is a charming, fertile village, but all a camp fortified at every point."

The militia, who had been allowed to go to their homes on account of the harvest, had been recalled. There was a question raised at this time as to the powers which General Brook had in his combined military and civil capacity. As civil governor he could convene general courts-martial for the trial of offenders belonging to the militia, and even inflict punishment by death; but in his military office he

could only convene the court. He thought he ought to have equal authority in both offices. He wrote from York on August 4th to Sir George Prevost, as follows: "I have the honour to enclose a statement made by me yesterday to His Majesty's executive council, which will fully apprize your Excellency of my situation. The council adjourned for deliberation, and I have no doubt will recommend the prorogation of the assembly and the proclamation of martial law, but doubts occurring in contemplation of such an event, I take the liberty to submit these questions to your Excellency, and request the aid of your experience and superior judgment. In the event of declaring martial law can I without the sign manual approve and carry into effect the sentence of a general court-martial? 2nd. Can I put upon a general court-martial, after martial law is proclaimed, any person not a commissioned officer in His Majesty's regular forces? In other words, can officers of the militia sit in conjunction with those of the line?"

The answer to this was written on August 12th, and Sir George said: "As the martial law which you propose declaring is founded on the king's commission and upon the extreme case of invasion alluded to in it, I am inclined to think that whatever power is necessary for conveying the measure into effect must have been intended to be given you by your commission. The officers of the militia, becoming themselves subject to martial law, I con-

ceive they may sit upon courts-martial with officers of His Majesty's regular force, but upon both these points I desire not to be understood as speaking decisively."

News had just reached Quebec of Captain Roberts's capture of Fort Michilimackinac. Sir George wrote: "Great credit is certainly due that officer for the zeal and promptitude with which he has performed this service. At the same time I must confess my mind has been very much relieved by finding that the capture took place at a period subsequent to Brigadier-General Hull's invasion of the province, as had it been prior to it, it would not only have been in violation of Captain Roberts's orders, but have afforded a just ground for the subsequent conduct of the enemy, which I now plainly perceive no forbearance on your part would have prevented." As a matter of fact the capture of Michilimackinac was effected contrary to Sir George Prevost's order, because Fort St. Joseph, being nearly three hundred and fifty miles from Detroit and Sandwich, and the expedition having left the fort four days after Hull's invasion, it was not possible for Captain Roberts to have heard in that time of the event. In his letter to the adjutant-general announcing the capture, he does not say that he had heard of the invasion. In his letter to Lord Bathurst, Sir George expresses himself rather differently. He says: "In these measures Major-General Brock was most opportunely aided by the

fortunate surrender of Fort Michilimackinac, which giving spirit and confidence to the Indian tribes in its neighbourhood, part of whom assisted in its capture, determined them to advance upon the rear and flank of the American army as soon as they heard it had entered the province."

At this time Sir George was much occupied with the meeting of the legislature at Quebec. To the credit of the House it must be said that they took prompt measures for the safety of the country. Past differences were forgotten, and all the members worked for the common weal. An act was passed providing for the issue of army note bills. The province was to pay the interest accruing upon the notes and the expense of the establishment. They were to be legal tender. Fifteen thousand pounds annually for five years were granted to pay the interest that might become due on these bills, of which two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were authorized to be put into circulation. Large bills, of twenty-five dollars and upwards, were to bear interest at the rate of four pence a day for every one hundred pounds. At the end of five years all those who might be the holders of such army bills were entitled to receive the amount of the same, with interest due, out of the provincial treasury.[1]

[1] In February, 1815, it was estimated that $5,200,000 had been issued, of which $3,200,000 were bearing interest amounting to $192,000, of which the province paid $60,000.

The commander-in-chief was at last able to send the much-needed money and stores to Upper Canada. Major Ormsby, with three companies of the 49th, protecting a large supply of ordnance, left La Chine on August 6th for Kingston and Fort George, taking two thousand five hundred pounds for the payment of regulars and militia. Another company, with one hundred and ten men of the Newfoundland Regiment and fifty picked Veterans, were to follow under Major Heathcote. Camp equipage for five hundred men was also promised as soon as *bateaux* could be collected at La Chine. Colonel Vincent with the remainder of the 49th, and a subaltern and ten gunners of the Royal Artillery, with two 3-pounders, were ordered to Fort George.

As to military affairs on the frontier of Quebec, it was reported that the Americans were forming dépôts in the neighbourhood of Montreal, and were also building *bateaux* on Lake Champlain. In the meantime the House of Assembly at York was prorogued as soon as it had passed the necessary supply bill, and Major-General Brock was free to proceed to the western frontier. Most of the members of the House were in the active militia and were needed in their respective districts. Colonel Baby, who had been attending to his parliamentary duties, had been bereft of his house in his absence, as General Hull had chosen it for headquarters, being the largest and best in Sandwich.

Colonel Elliott, another member of the legislature, lived near Amherstburg, and had long been in charge of the Indians in that district, over whom he exercised great influence. John Macdonell, the acting attorney-general and member for Glengarry, a young man of much promise, was chosen as aide-de-camp by the general. The latter called for volunteers to accompany him on the expedition, and such was the enthusiasm aroused that more than five hundred offered their services. The general, however, could only accept half of that number as the rest were required to guard the Niagara frontier. Forty men of the 41st Regiment were also detached from the little garrison at Fort George, to proceed to Amherstburg. The volunteers chosen were chiefly young men, sons of the principal residents of York and the adjacent country. Before they left on their perilous expedition they attended a service at St. James's Church in York, where their friend and rector, Dr. Strachan, whose pupils most of them had been, preached them a stirring sermon, and sent them on their way with his blessing to drive back the invaders of the land.

A word of farewell was sent to the general by his friends Colonel Bruyères and Colonel Baynes. The former wrote: "The difficult task placed in any other hands I should consider very discouraging, but I acknowledge that I look with a certain degree of confidence to your abilities and perseverance in surmounting every difficulty." The other says:

"Adieu, my dear general, we cannot command success, but I am sure you will not fail to merit it."

General Brock and his little band left York on August 6th for Burlington Bay, and thence proceeded by land to Long Point, Lake Erie. On the way he passed the Mohawk village on the Grand River, and took the opportunity of personally finding out the disposition of the Indians there. About sixty promised to follow him. At Long Point the forty regulars and two hundred and sixty volunteers which composed the troop, embarked in all sorts of boats for the journey of about two hundred miles along the coast to Amherstburg. Up this same lake had journeyed fifty years before, Major Rogers with his rangers, bearing with them the English flag for the old French fort of Detroit. There it waved until, by the treaty of 1794, the fort was ceded to the Americans. The coast of Lake Erie is a dangerous one to navigate, with sand cliffs rising one hundred to two hundred feet sheer from the water, and there were very few creeks or inlets where safe landing could be made. At times a heavy surf breaks upon the shore. The weather was bad, rainy and stormy, but, inspired by their leader, the men bore their privations without a murmur. Once the boat in which were the general and some of his new recruits ran on a rock. Oars and poles were used in vain, when Brock with the daring expertness learnt long before on the Guern-

sey coast, jumped overboard, an example quickly followed by the others, and the boat was safely pushed into deep water.

On August 12th they reached Point aux Pins, and the general wrote there his orders to his little fleet. "It is Major-General Brock's intention, should the wind continue fair, to proceed during the night; officers commanding boats will therefore pay attention to the order of sailing as directed yesterday; the greatest care and attention will be required to prevent the boats from separating or falling behind. A great part of the banks of the lake where the boats will this day pass is much more dangerous and difficult of access than any we have passed; the boats will therefore not land except in the most extreme necessity, and then great care must be taken to choose the best place for beaching. The troops being now in the neighbourhood of the enemy, every precaution must be taken to guard against surprise. By order, J. Glegg."

After five days and nights of incessant exertion, the little squadron reached Amherstburg shortly before midnight on August 13th. There is a note in General Brock's handwriting which gives this tribute to the men who accompanied him: "In no instance have I seen troops who would have endured the fatigue of a long journey in boats during extremely bad weather, with greater cheerfulness and constancy; and it is but justice to this little

band to add that their conduct throughout excited my admiration."

It was well for Canada that no message reached Brock to stop him on the way, for while he was pressing on, the over-cautious and vacillating commander-in-chief, possessed with the idea that the repeal of the orders-in-council would bring a cessation of hostilities, had sent Colonel Baynes to General Dearborn at Albany, with a proposition for an armistice.

CHAPTER XVIII

BROWNSTOWN AND MAGUAGA

THE garrison at Amherstburg consisted of a subaltern detachment of the Royal Artillery, three hundred men of the 41st, and about the same number of militia. Captain Chambers, with fifty men of the 41st, had been sent to the Moravian town on the river Thames for the purpose of collecting the militia and Indians there, and advancing on the left flank of the enemy. Forty more had been sent to Long Point to collect the militia in that neighbourhood. Sixty of the 41st had just arrived with Colonel Procter at Amherstburg. General Hull, after issuing his futile proclamation, seems to have remained closely in his quarters at Sandwich, evidently afraid to venture too far from Fort Detroit. He had not met with the encouragement he expected from the settlers of Essex and Kent. Although some malcontents had joined his standard, the majority of the inhabitants had remained firm in their allegiance to Great Britain. An advance upon Fort Malden (Amherstburg) had been expected, but three detachments of Americans on three successive days had been foiled in their attempt to cross the river Canard, scarcely four miles from that place. On July 22nd General Hull

wrote to Washington: "If Malden were in our possession, I could march the army to Niagara or York in a very short time." Sir George Prevost on the 27th of the same month had written to Brock: "The possession of Malden, which I consider means Amherstburg, appears a favourable object with the government of the United States. I sincerely hope you will disappoint them."

The fort of Amherstburg could not, from the description given of it, have sustained a siege. "Quadrangle in form, four bastions alone flanked a dry ditch, offering little obstacle to a determined enemy. This passed, there was but a single line of picketing, perforated with loopholes for musketry, and supported by a slight breastwork. All the buildings within were of wood, covered with pine shingles of extreme thinness."[1] Colonel St. George, who was in command there, well knew the disadvantage of awaiting the enemy in this position, and sallied out with his small garrison to guard the approaches to the river Canard. In one of the slight skirmishes that occurred between his troops and an advance body of American cavalry and infantry, the first blood was shed in the war of 1812. It was that of a private of the 41st, named Hancock, who was killed when defending a bridge, while his companion Dean was carried off a prisoner to Detroit.[2]

[1] Richardson in "The War of 1812."

[2] The brave conduct of the two privates was thus noticed in a general order, dated Quebec, August 6th: "The commander of the forces takes great pleasure in also announcing to the troops that the

Their determined resistance gave time for a reinforcement of Indians led by Tecumseh to arrive, whose appearance and wild shouts carried such a panic among the Americans that they retired in disorder. This was Tecumseh's first exploit as an ally. As soon as Colonel Procter arrived he sent the chief with a band of Indians and a detachment of the 41st under Major Muir across the river to Brownstown, a place about twenty-five miles south of Detroit, and nearly opposite Amherstburg. The object of the expedition was to intercept a body of the enemy, which was marching from Detroit as an escort for the mail, and also to meet and convoy a supply of provisions from the river Raisin. The American troops consisted of about two hundred Ohio volunteers, under Major Van Horne. Tecumseh with about twenty-five Indians, learning from their scouts the route the Americans had taken, formed an ambuscade three miles from Brownstown and lined the thick woods on either side of the road. When Van Horne with the mounted riflemen

enemy under Brigadier-General Hull have been repulsed in three attacks made on the 18th, 19th and 20th of last month upon part of the garrison of Amherstburg, on the river Canard, in which attacks His Majesty's 41st Regiment have particularly distinguished themselves. In justice to that corps, His Excellency wishes particularly to call the attention of the troops to the heroism and self-devotion displayed by two privates, who being left as sentinels when the party to which they belonged had retired, contrived to maintain their station against the whole of the enemy's force, until they both fell, when one of them, whose arm had been broken, again raising himself, opposed with his bayonet those advancing against him until overwhelmed by numbers."

appeared, the Indians opened a deadly fire, killing twenty of the number, including five officers, and wounding as many more. The Americans sought safety in flight, and the despatches and correspondence from Detroit fell into the hands of Tecumseh, who lost only one man in the encounter. The provision train, with cattle and other supplies for Detroit, in charge of Captain Brush, was also intercepted by the Indians. This was most discouraging for General Hull, who received all his provisions and supplies from Ohio by the rivers Raisin and Miami. News of the reverse followed quickly on the news of the loss of Michilimackinac, which Hull said let loose the northern hive of Indians on his frontier. So discouraged was he that on August 7th and 8th he abandoned Sandwich in order to concentrate his forces at Detroit.

He then sent a detachment of six hundred men with some artillery to dislodge the British from Brownstown. These met at Maguaga, fourteen miles below Detroit, a company of the 41st under Major Muir, with about sixty militia and two hundred Indians. A sharp engagement ensued, in which the Americans were successful, and the British had to retire to their boats. Major Richardson, who was present as a subaltern on this occasion, has given a detailed account of this skirmish, to which the Americans seem to attach undue importance. He says:—

"On the morning of Sunday, the 9th, the wild

and distant cry of our Indian scouts gave us to understand that the enemy were advancing. In the course of ten minutes the Indians appeared issuing from the wood, bounding like wild deer chased by the huntsman, and uttering that peculiar shout which is known among themselves as the 'news cry.' From them we ascertained that a strong column of the enemy, cavalry and infantry, were on their march to attack us, but that the difficulty of transporting their guns rendered it improbable that they could reach our position before night, although then only at a distance of eight miles. It being instantly decided on to meet them, the detachment was speedily under arms and on its march for Maguaga, a small Indian village distant about a league. Having taken up a position about a quarter of a mile beyond Maguaga, our dispositions of defence were speedily made, the rustling of the leaves alone breaking on the silence which reigned throughout our line. Following the example of the Indians, we lay reclined on the ground, in order to avoid being perceived until within a few yards of the enemy. While awaiting in this manner the approach of the column, our little force was increased by the arrival of Lieutenant Bullock of the 41st Grenadiers, who, with a small detachment of twenty men of his own company, twenty Light Infantry, and twenty Battalion men, had been urged forward by General Brock from the headquarters of the regiment then stationed at Fort George, for the pur-

pose of reinforcing the little garrison of Amherstburg, and who, having reached their destination the preceding day, had been despatched by Colonel Procter to strengthen us. Shortly the report of a single shot echoed through the wood, and the instant afterwards the loud and terrific yells of the Indians, followed by a heavy and desultory fire, apprised us that they were engaged. The action then became general along our line, and continued for half an hour without producing any material advantage, when, unluckily, a body of Indians that had been detached to a small wood about five hundred yards distant from our right, were taken by the troops for a corps of the enemy endeavouring to turn their flank. In vain we called out to them that they were our Indians. The fire which should have been reserved for their foes was turned upon their friends, who, falling into the same error, returned it with equal spirit. The fact was, they had been compelled to retire before a superior force, and the movement made by them had given rise to the error. Closely pressed in front by an almost invisible foe, and on the point of being taken in the rear as was falsely imagined, the troops were at length compelled to yield to circumstance and number.

"Although our retreat in consequence of this unfortunate misapprehension, commenced in some disorder, this was soon restored, when Major Muir, who had been wounded early in the engagement, succeeded in rallying his men and forming them on

the brow of a hill which commanded a short and narrow bridge intersecting the high road and crossing a morass, over which the enemy's guns must necessarily pass. This was about a quarter of a mile in the rear of the position we had previously occupied. Here we remained at least fifteen minutes, when, finding that the Americans did not make their appearance as expected, Major Muir, whose communication with Tecumseh had been cut off, and who heard some smart firing in the woods beyond his left, naturally inferred that the enemy were pushing the Indians in that quarter with a view of turning his flank, gaining the high road in our rear, and thus cutting off our retreat. The order was then given to retire, which we certainly did at the double quick, without being followed by the enemy, who suffered us to gain our boats without further molestation. . . .

"In this skirmish we had first an opportunity of perceiving the extreme disadvantage of opposing regular troops to the enemy in the woods. Accustomed to the use of the rifle from his infancy, dwelling in a measure amid forests with the intricacies of which he is wholly acquainted, and possessing the advantage of a dress which renders him almost undistinguishable to the eye of a European, the American marksman enters with comparative security into a contest with the English soldier, whose glaring habiliment and accoutrements are objects too conspicuous to be missed, while his

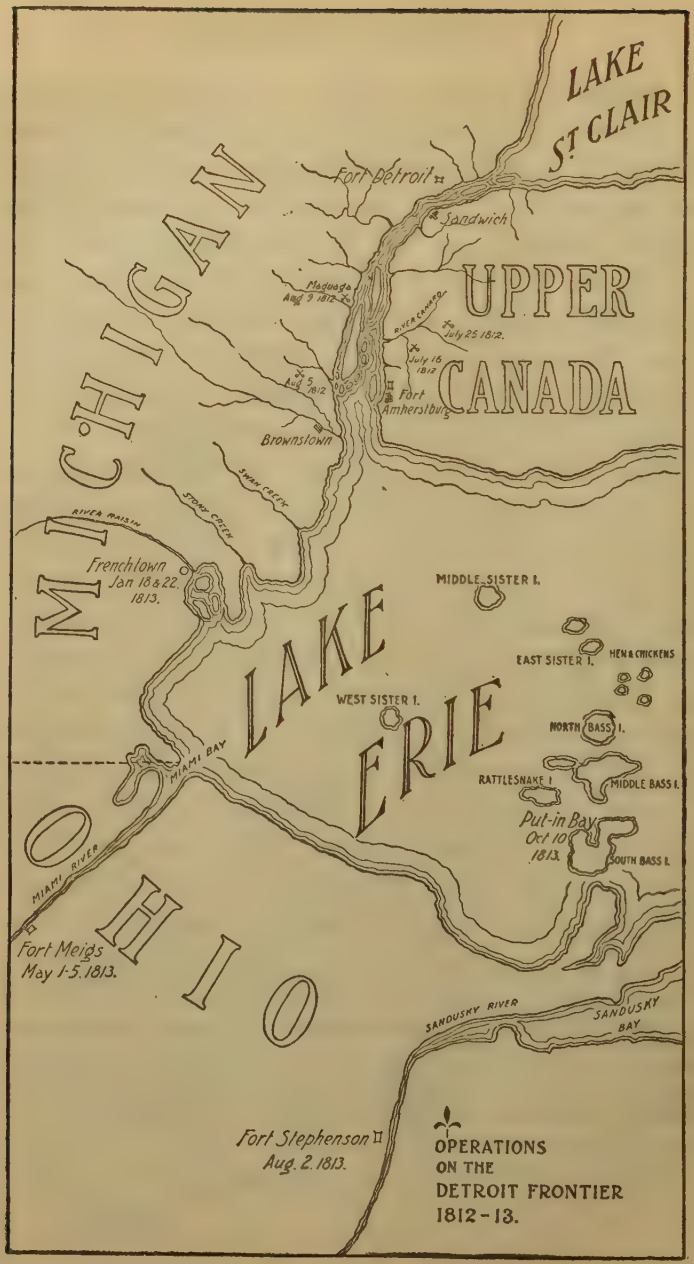
utter ignorance of a mode of warfare in which courage and discipline are of no avail, renders the struggle for mastery even more unequal. The principal armies to which the Right Division was opposed during the war consisted not of regular and well disciplined troops, but levies of men taken from the forests of Ohio and Kentucky, scarcely inferior as riflemen to the Indians. Dressed in woollen frocks of a gray colour, and trained to cover their bodies behind the trees from which they fired, without exposing more of their persons than was absolutely necessary for their aim, they afforded us on more than one occasion the most convincing proofs that without the assistance of the Indian warriors the defence of so great a portion of western Canada as was entrusted to the charge of the numerically feeble Right Division would have proved a duty of great difficulty and doubt."

In this engagement at Maguaga, the American forces consisted, according to their own report, of the 4th United States Infantry, except one company left at Sandwich, a small detachment of the 1st Infantry, and some artillerymen, in all about three hundred regulars, and sixty men of the Michigan Militia, forty Dragoons, and three hundred riflemen of the Ohio Volunteers. The British force was about a hundred men of the 41st Regiment, the reinforcement of sixty men of the Grenadier Company under Lieutenant Bullock, and a few militia—Richardson says forty or fifty. The number

of Indians is variously stated. It was probably about two hundred, although in the American account they give the number as four hundred and fifty.[1] As an offset to the reverse of Maguaga, Lieutenant Rolette, on August 10th, with boats from the *Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter*, had attacked and captured a convoy of eleven *bateaux* on their way from Maguaga to Detroit, having on board fifty wounded men from Brownstown, some prisoners, and a quantity of provisions and baggage.

The news of the capture of Michilimackinac was the means of largely augmenting Tecumseh's forces, for as soon as he heard of its downfall he despatched runners to all his associate tribes, bidding them assemble at Fort Malden immediately, and telling them that the Americans, by not marching on Malden and by the easy discomfiture of several detachments, had shown they would not fight; that the braves should come forward with all speed so as to participate in the capture of the army and share in the plunder, which would be great. His appeal was promptly responded to, and by August 15th seven hundred warriors had joined him.

[1] Although the skirmish at Maguaga ended in the retreat of the British, their loss in killed and wounded was much less than that of the enemy. General Hull's despatch of August 13th puts the American loss at eighteen killed and sixty-one wounded. Colonel Procter's despatch of the 11th says the British loss including regulars, militia, and Indians, was six killed, twenty-one wounded, two missing.


LAKE
St CLAIR
Fort Detroit
Sandwich
MICHIGAN
UPPER
CANADA
Maguaga
Aug 9 1812
RIVER CANARD
July 25 1812.
July 16
1812
Aug 5
1812
Fort
Amherstburg
Brownstown
SWAN CREEK
STONY CREEK
RIVER RAISIN
Frenchtown
Jan 18 & 22
1813.
MIDDLE SISTER I.
LAKE
ERIE
EAST SISTER I.
HEN & CHICKENS
WEST SISTER I.
NORTH (BASS) I.
MIAMI BAY
RATTLESNAKE I.
MIDDLE BASS I.
Put-in Bay
Oct 10
1813.
SOUTH BASS I.
OHIO
MIAMI RIVER
Fort Meigs
May 1-5. 1813.
SANDUSKY RIVER
SANDUSKY
BAY
Fort Stephenson
Aug. 2. 1813.
OPERATIONS
ON THE
DETROIT FRONTIER
1812 - 13.

CHAPTER XIX

DETROIT

Que faut-il pour vaincre les ennemis de la patrie? De l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace.—*Danton.*

THE events described in the last chapter show the condition of affairs when General Brock arrived at Amherstburg. He immediately summoned a council of war to meet at Colonel Elliott's quarters. It was here that he first met his Indian ally, Tecumseh, and both seem to have been favourably impressed with each other. After hearing what had happened at Brownstown and Maguaga, the general explained to the savage warrior his intention of immediately advancing upon Detroit. Tecumseh, taking a roll of birch bark, spread it on the ground, and with his scalping knife etched upon the bark a plan of the country, its hills, woods, morasses and roads. One who was present at the meeting reported Tecumseh's speech on the occasion. He said: "I have fought against the enemies of our great father, the king, beyond the great lakes, and they have never seen my back. I am come here to fight his enemies on this side the great salt lake, and now desire with my soldiers to take lessons from you and your warriors that we may learn how to make war in these great forests."

The commanding figure and fine countenance of General Brock seemed to strike the savage chief, and turning round to his people he stretched out his hand, exclaiming in his own tongue, "This is a man."

It is stated that although Tecumseh could speak English, he never spoke any language but his own at any council or when in the presence of any officer or agent of a government, preferring to make use of an interpreter. He held the opinion that the honour of his people and race required official intercourse to be carried on in the Shawanese tongue. He is described as being of about five feet nine inches in height, very erect, with an oval face, clear hazel eyes, straight nose, and a Napoleonic mouth, finely formed and expressive. He was invariably dressed in tanned buckskin made in the usual Indian fashion, that is, a fringed hunting frock descending to the knee, over underclothes of the same material. Leggings and moccasins and a mantle, also of buckskin, completed the costume. In his belt was a silver-mounted tomahawk, also a knife in a strong leather case. On the occasion of their first interview General Brock presented Tecumseh with his sash, but the next morning he appeared without it. When asked the reason, he said an abler warrior than himself, the Wyandot chief Roundhead, was present, and he had transferred it to him. This little piece of diplomacy shows how well Tecumseh understood the art of

keeping his savage allies in good humour. In a letter to Lord Liverpool, General Brock gives his impression of the chief. He writes: "Among the Indians whom I found at Amherstburg, who had arrived from distant parts of the country, were some extraordinary characters. He who attracted most of my attention was the Shawanese chief, Tecumseh, brother to the prophet, who for the last two years has carried on, contrary to our remonstrances, an active warfare against the United States. A more sagacious or more gallant warrior does not exist. He was the admiration of every one who conversed with him. From a life of dissipation, he has not only become in every respect abstemious, but has likewise prevailed on all his nation and many of the other tribes to follow his example."

On August 14th, at Amherstburg, General Brock issued the following general order: "The troops in the western district will be formed into three brigades. 1st Brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, to consist of a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and of the Kent and 1st and 2nd Regiments of Essex Militia; 2nd Brigade, under Major Chambers, to consist of fifty men of the 41st Regiment, and the whole of the detachments of the York, Lincoln, Oxford, and Norfolk Militia; 3rd Brigade, under Major Tallon, to consist of the remainder of the 41st Regiment. Colonel Procter will have charge of the whole line under the orders of the major-general. James Givins,

late captain of the 5th Regiment, is appointed provincial aide-de-camp, with the rank of major of the militia."

General Brock called together his principal officers to confer with them on the proposed crossing of the river to attack Fort Detroit. He had already made up his own mind, but only one officer, the quartermaster-general, Colonel Nichol, agreed with him as to the advisability of the enterprise. The general then said: "I have decided on crossing, and now, gentlemen, instead of any further advice, I entreat of you to give me your cordial and hearty support." If the ideal officer is the man who can decide rightly what to do in any situation of war, who is able to make up his mind quickly what course to adopt and how to carry it out, then Isaac Brock was that ideal officer. Nature had given him the hero's outfit,—"courage and the faculty to do."

Early on August 15th orders were given to advance at once to Sandwich, sixteen miles from Amherstburg and four miles below Detroit. The troops arrived the same day at their destination. A detachment of two hundred and fifty Americans, left by General Hull in a fort on the Canadian side, evacuated it on the approach of the British, and crossed the river to the American side. General Brock occupied as headquarters Colonel Baby's house, so lately vacated by General Hull. Preparations had already been made for bombarding Detroit, for batteries had been constructed under the superin-

tendence of Captain Dixon, of the Royal Engineers. They were equipped for one 18-pounder, two $12\frac{1}{2}$ and two $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch mortars. It is scarcely to be wondered at that doubts were felt as to the possibility of crossing the river to attack a strong fort with the scanty force at the command of the British general. He had but two hundred and fifty of the 41st Regiment, fifty of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, thirty Royal Artillery, four hundred militia, and about seven hundred Indians. For artillery there were but five guns—three 6-pounders and two 3-pounders. In the Detroit River there were two British vessels, one the *Queen Charlotte*, a sloop of war armed with eighteen 24-pounders, the other the armed brig *Hunter*. On the Canadian side of the river, directly opposite Detroit, was the battery under the command of Captain Dixon. The river at Sandwich is about three-quarters of a mile wide.

The American general had under his command two troops of cavalry, one company of artillery, the 4th United States Regiment, detachments of the 1st and 3rd Regiments of the regular army of volunteers, three regiments of Ohio militia and one of the Michigan territory. In all there were about two thousand men posted in and around the fort, while a detachment of three hundred and sixty men under Colonel McArthur, who had left for the river Raisin, had been recalled and were now on their way back. All these troops were well armed.

The fort was defended by twenty-six pieces of ordnance of large calibre. There was an abundance of ammunition, as Colonel Cass's report to the secretary of war showed. He stated that they had four hundred rounds of 24-pound shot fixed, and about one hundred thousand cartridges made. There were also forty barrels of powder and two thousand five hundred stand of arms.

It was indeed a bold enterprise to attempt to take the place by assault. As General Brock said afterwards, he made a cool calculation of the *pours* and *contres*, and was helped in his decision by the letters that had fallen into his hands at Brownstown addressed to the secretary of war; and also by the private letters of hundreds of the American army to their friends. These showed that confidence in General Hull was gone, and that despondency prevailed throughout the fort.

When General Brock arrived at Sandwich on the morning of August 15th, he determined at once to carry out his plan. From his headquarters he penned a missive summoning the American general to surrender. In coolness and boldness it is only equalled by that of Nelson to the Crown Prince at Copenhagen. Possibly Brock thought of that day when he stood by England's great admiral and saw him write his demand for the surrender of the Danish forts. In almost similar terms the British general wrote: "The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the immediate surrender of

Fort Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences."

This letter was taken to Fort Detroit by the two aides-de-camp, Captain Glegg and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell. General Hull refused to see them, and after keeping them waiting about two hours, returned this answer: "I have received your letter of this date. I have no other reply to make than to inform you that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from any exertion of it you may think proper to make."

On the receipt of this the batteries were ordered to open fire upon the fort, which apparently threw the enemy into some confusion. An effort was made to return the fire from the opposite bank, but without effect. No damage was done on either side. All night the troops in Sandwich lay on their arms, prepared to cross the river at early dawn. Under the cover of darkness, six hundred Indians led by Tecumseh crossed over during the night, and were ordered to attack the enemy in flank and rear if they should oppose the landing of the troops. At six o'clock on Sunday, the 16th, three hundred regulars and four hundred militia under Brock's immediate command, were embarked in boats and canoes, carrying with them five pieces of light

artillery, and were landed at Springwells, four miles below Detroit. One who was present writes: "A soft August sun was just rising as we gained the centre of the river, and the view at the moment was certainly very animated and exciting, for amid the little squadron of boats and scows conveying the troops and artillery were mixed numerous canoes filled with Indian warriors decorated in their half-nakedness for the occasion, and uttering yells of mingled defiance of their foes and encouragement of the soldiery. Above us again were to be seen and heard the flashes and thunder of the artillery from our batteries, which, as on the preceding day, were but feebly replied to by the enemy, while the gay flags of the *Queen Charlotte*, drooping in the breezeless, yet not oppressive air, and playing on the calm surface of the river seemed to give earnest of success, and inspired every bosom."[1]

Years before Isaac Brock had crossed the river on a peaceful visit to this garden of the West. The landscape was the same but what a change had come! There were still the settlers' homesteads, the orchards laden with fruit, the vines heavy with grapes, the fields of rich grass that lined the water's edge. But the flower-decked homes were deserted. Through the orchards gleamed the bayonets of armed men. Under the vines lurked the half-naked savage ready for his cruel work. Instead of the welcome he had once received, guns pointed their grim muzzles

[1] Richardson, in "The War of 1812."

down the road. The women and children who had met him with smiles before were gathered trembling in the fort, and instead of the church bells calling them to prayer this Sunday morning, came the dull boom of the cannon from the shore and fort.

The road from Springwells passed up across the ground between the fort and the river. A few village dwellings were on the river side of the road, and a few farm houses on the west side. Fronting the road and commanding the approach in that direction were two 24-pound field guns, two 12-pound iron and two 6-pound brass guns. The 1st Regiment of Ohio volunteers was posted in an orchard on the west; next to them, extending to the west curtain of the fort, was the 2nd Regiment, and then the 3rd Regiment covering the north-west bastion and wagon train; while in the fort was the entire 4th United States Regiment, and a company of artillery. When the troops had crossed the river they formed and advanced in column, General Brock leading. Colonel Nichol went up to him and said: "Pardon me, General, but I cannot forbear entreating you not to expose yourself thus. If we lose you, we lose all. Let me pray you to allow the troops to pass on led by their own officers;" but the only answer he received was, "Master Nichol, I duly appreciate the advice you give me, but I feel that in addition to their sense of loyalty and duty, many here follow me from personal regard, and

I will never ask them to go where I do not lead them."

The Indians under Tecumseh moved through the skirt of the woods covering the left flank, while the right rested on the river protected by the *Queen Charlotte*. The guns of the fort commanded the road by which Brock led his men, and there seemed no reason why a withering fire should not have met them.[1] General Brock continued the advance until within three-quarters of a mile of the fort, and then deployed to the left through a field to a house about three hundred yards from the road, which he selected as his headquarters. In this position the troops were covered. He then ascended the rising ground to reconnoitre. Scarcely had he done so when an officer bearing a white flag was seen coming from the point at which were stationed the threatening guns.

General Brock had not miscalculated the effect of the boldness of his advance. The explanation of

[1] "The column having been formed we moved forward by sections, at nearly double distance, in order to give to our little force a more imposing appearance. Lieutenant Bullock commanded the advance guard, and immediately in rear of this, and preceding the column, were the light artillery (three 6 and two 3-pounders) with which only we advanced against the enemy's fortress. Nothing but the boldness of the enterprise could have assured its success. When within a mile and a half of the rising ground we distinctly saw two long heavy guns planted in the road, and around them the gunners with their fuses burning. At each moment we expected they would be fired, yet although it was evident the discharge must literally have swept our small but dense column, there was neither halt nor indecision perceptible. Had there been the slightest wavering or appearance of confusion in the men, the

the pusillanimous conduct of the American general is not hard to find. The cannonade from the battery on the Canadian side had opened again early on the morning of the 16th, and the true range having been found, some round shot fell into the fort, killing and wounding several. Among the killed was Lieutenant Hanks, who had been in command at Michilimackinac, and was then a prisoner on parole. Fort Detroit at the time was full of women and children and decrepit men from the surrounding country who had sought refuge from the Indians, believing there would be an indiscriminate slaughter. The fear of the Indians, the presence of some members of his own family in the fort, perhaps the entreaties of the non-combatants, combined to make General Hull decide on an immediate surrender.

Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg accompanied Captain Hull, the bearer of the flag of truce, back to the fort to arrange the terms of the capitulation. At mid-day of the 16th the British troops marched in. The territory of Michigan, the

enemy, who were closely watching us, and who seemed intimidated by the confidence of our advance, would not have failed to profit by the discovery, and fearful, in such case, must have been the havoc."—*Richardson.*

General Brock says in his despatch to the commander-in-chief: "I crossed the river with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's camp, and in hopes of compelling him to meet us in the field; but receiving information upon landing that Colonel McArthur, an officer of high reputation, had left the garrison three days before with a detachment of five hundred men, and hearing soon afterwards that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack."

fort with thirty-seven pieces of ordnance, the brig *Adams* were ceded to the British. Two thousand five hundred American troops became prisoners of war. Four hundred rounds of 24-pound shot, one hundred thousand cartridges, and two thousand five hundred stand of arms, much needed by the Canadian militia, also fell into General Brock's hands.

He wrote to his friend Major Evans, on the 17th. "Detroit is ours, and with it the whole Michigan territory, the army prisoners of war. The force you so skilfully prepared and forwarded to me at so much risk, met me at Point aux Pins in high spirits and most effective state. Your thought of clothing the militia in the 41st's cast-off clothing proved a most happy one, it having more than doubled our own regular force to the enemy's eye."

At the time of the surrender large reinforcements were on their way to General Hull, and had it not been for General Brock's bold and rapid advance, western Canada would undoubtedly have fallen, and perhaps in consequence the rest of the country also. The general well deserved the praise he received. In nineteen days he had met his legislature, settled the public business of the province, had made a troublesome journey of three hundred miles by land and water, and, without the loss of a man, had won for the British Crown a territory almost equal in size to the province of Upper

Canada. Colonel Cass, the American quartermaster-general, in his report to the secretary of war at Washington said: "That we were far superior to the enemy, that upon any ordinary principle of calculation we would have defeated them, the wounded and indignant feelings of every man there will testify. I was informed by General Hull the morning after the capitulation, that the British forces consisted of eighteen hundred regulars, and that he surrendered to prevent the effusion of human blood. That he magnified their regular force nearly five fold there can be no doubt. Whether the philanthropical reason assigned by him is a sufficient justification for surrendering a fortified town, an army and a territory is for the governor to determine. Confident I am that had the courage and conduct of the general been equal to the spirit and zeal of the troops, the event would have been brilliant and successful as it is now disastrous and dishonourable."

After the surrender Tecumseh came to General Brock and said: "I have heard much of your fame, and am happy again to shake by the hand a brave brother warrior. The Americans endeavour to give us a mean opinion of British generals, but we have been the witness of your valour. In crossing the river to attack the enemy we observed you from a distance standing the whole time in an erect position, and when the boats reached the shore you were among the first who jumped on land. Your bold

and sudden movement frightened the enemy, and you compelled them to surrender to half their own force."

On the morning of August 17th the victory was celebrated by firing a salute from the esplanade in front of the fort, while a general parade of the British troops was held by General Brock, who with his staff appeared in full dress to receive the spoils they had won. The salute from the fort was returned by the guns of the *Queen Charlotte* which "dressed with flags, and with streamers flaunting proudly, sailed up the stream." Nor was the victorious general forgetful of those whose conduct in their several positions deserved praise at his hands. Dean, the private of the 41st, who had so bravely kept the bridge at the Canard, and had been taken a prisoner to Detroit, was released from the guard-room by General Brock himself, called before the assembled troops and warmly commended. The general shook him by the hand and declared that he was indeed an honour to the service. In the orders of the day, Isaac Brock expressed his admiration of the conduct of the several companies of the militia who had accompanied him, and requested Major Salmon, Captains Hatt, Heward, Bostwick and Robinson to assure the officers and men under their respective commands that their services had been duly appreciated, and would never be forgotten. It was the first enterprise in which the militia had been engaged, and its success imparted

confidence. Isaac Brock was the idol of the hour. The untrained men he had led felt there was one standing by them on whom they could depend for sure guidance. He had taught them the value of a citizen soldiery who in the hour of danger could be a "tough and stubborn barrier between an invading force and the homes and hearths of the nation."

That the Americans had anticipated a very different result is easily seen by the letters of their public men. Ex-President Jefferson had written: "The acquisition of Canada as far as Quebec will be a mere matter of marching, and will give us experience for the attack on Halifax and the final expulsion of England from the continent." The scene on the esplanade of Detroit on that 17th of August was a forcible answer to the boastful prediction.

To Captain Glegg, A.D.C., was given the honour of bearing to Quebec General Brock's despatches to the commander-in-chief, together with the colours of the 4th United States Regiment. Another young officer of the militia who had done good service at Captain Dixon's battery, was entrusted with despatches bearing the good tidings to the Talbot Settlement. This was George Ryerson of the 1st Norfolk Militia, of which regiment his father was the colonel. Lieutenant Ryerson rode all day through the woods and by the river Thames, and when night fell found himself in an Indian encampment occupied only by women and children

and some aged warriors, who received the good news with shouts of joy, and chanted all night their songs of victory.

One short message General Brock sent to his brothers in England: "Rejoice at my good fortune, and join with me in prayers to heaven. Let me hear that you are all united and happy." This letter was addressed to Irving Brock and reached him on October 13th.[1]

[1] The question arose some months after the capitulation as to whether the inhabitants of the Michigan territory could be compelled to render military service against the United States as militia while the war was still going on. A curious point was here involved. In the capitulation between Brock and Hull no mention of the Michigan territory was made, although the proclamation issued by Brock immediately after the capitulation, on the same day, commences with these words: "Whereas the territory of Michigan was this day by capitulation ceded to the arms of His Britannic Majesty."

John Beverley Robinson, who had been one of the first to enter Fort Detroit on its surrender, was called upon as acting attorney-general to give his opinion. It was his first legal one. It is as follows:

December 22nd, 1812.

"I am of opinion that they cannot. By the capitulation of August 16th, 1812, Fort Detroit only, with the troops, regulars as well as militia, were surrendered to the British forces. The consequent proclamation issued by General Brock does include the Michigan territory but that is merely an instrument *ex parte*, proceeding from the capitulation; and whereas it contradicts it, it can have no effect."—*Life of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart.*, by Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B., p. 60.

CHAPTER XX

THE ARMISTICE

GENERAL BROCK lost no time in making preparations to return to the Niagara frontier, where he hoped to strike another sudden blow. He dismissed the militia of Michigan to their homes, placed the volunteers on parole, and sent General Hull with a thousand of his regular troops in boats to Fort Erie, *en route* to Montreal as prisoners of war. After issuing a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Michigan territory, by which their private property was secured and their laws and religion confirmed, he set out on his return journey on August 18th. On his voyage down Lake Erie in the schooner *Chippewa* he was met by the *Lady Prevost*, whose commander gave him the first intelligence of the armistice unfortunately concluded with General Dearborn.

General Brock could not conceal his regret and mortification, as the armistice prevented an attack on Sacketts Harbour which he had contemplated. At that place vessels were being fitted out whose construction would immensely strengthen the enemy's position on Lake Ontario, of which it was of the first importance to hold the mastery. He had given

orders to Colonel Procter who was left in command at Detroit, to send a detachment of the 41st to join with the Indians in an expedition against Fort Wayne, a supply post in the Miami country. Brock was now compelled to write and request him on account of the armistice to postpone the attack, and also to keep the Indians back from predatory excursions on their own account. On August 25th General Brock arrived at Fort George, and on the 27th at York, where he was received in triumph. Addresses of welcome and letters of congratulation were showered upon him. One[1] wrote: "There is something so fabulous in the report of a handful of troops supported by a few raw militia leaving their strong post to invade an enemy of double the number in his own fortress and making them all prisoners without the loss of a man, that it seems to me the people of England will be incredulous until they see the exterminating boaster a prisoner in London. I shall hardly sleep until I have the satisfaction of hearing particulars of the wonderful excursion, for it must not be called a campaign. The *veni, vidi, vici* is again the faithful report. Your good fortune in one instance is singular, for if your zeal had been thwarted by such adverse winds as frequently occur on the lake, the armistice might have intercepted your career."

In answer to the address from the people of York, General Brock said with characteristic sim-

[1] Chief Justice Powell.

plicity: "Gentlemen, I cannot but feel highly gratified by this expression of esteem for myself; but in justice to the brave men at whose head I marched against the enemy, I must beg leave to direct your attention to them as the proper objects of your gratitude. It was a confidence founded on their loyalty, zeal and valour that determined me to adopt the plan of operations which led to so fortunate a termination. Allow me to congratulate you gentlemen at having sent out from among yourselves a portion of that gallant band, and that at such a period a spirit has manifested itself on which you may confidently repose your hopes of future security."

It was by such unassuming, sincere words that Brock endeared himself to the people of Canada. The victory he had won had an immediate moral effect. It has been well said that it was as if an electric shock had passed through the country, awing the disaffected and animating the timid and wavering. The success at Detroit caused the Six Nation Indians on the Grand River to drop their policy of neutrality and to take an active part on the British side. If General Brock's hands had not been tied, he would doubtless have swept the frontier from Sandusky to St. Regis.

A letter from John Lovett, secretary to General Van Rensselaer, describes the arrival of the prisoners from Detroit on their way to Fort George, and shows the feeling that prevailed in the enemy's

camp. "Yesterday the first we saw was a guard of about fifty men passing with some wagons on the opposite shore. It was the victorious Brock returning to Fort George. He sent over Colonel Macdonell, his aide-de-camp, and Major Evans, two strapping lads in scarlet and gold, to make a communication to General Van Rensselaer. This part of the country now thinks their whole salvation rests upon our little raw army. I think I know the fact that after Brock had taken Hull he expressed his determination to return and take Niagara. I think his mind is altered by the armistice, but he can take Niagara any hour he pleases. Yes, my friend, we cannot defend Niagara one hour, and as for our present camp, I now write with an eye on a single gun on yon hill in Queenston which would rout us all in three minutes. The Ohio officers' prisoners were also last evening with us, and say that the Indians with Brock are the finest fellows they ever saw. They are commanded by the prophet's brother Tecumseh. He is hourly expected at Fort George, and it is said the tawny host is to follow. Well, be it so, one thing our friends may be assured of, we are not scared yet. We shall never be 'Hulled.' Our general is thoughtful but firm."[1]

Of the loss of Detroit the same officer wrote on the 28th: "This event has animated Canada beyond anything you can conceive. It has put a serious face on our Indians on the whole frontier.

[1] From John Lovett to J. Alexander, dated August 26th, 1812.

Tecumseh, the prophet's brother, a warrior of almost unbounded influence, now openly holds that the Great Spirit intended Ohio River for the boundary between his white and red children, that many of the first warriors have always thought so, but a cloud hung over the eyes of the tribes and they could not see what the Great Spirit meant, that General Brock has now torn away the cloud and the Indians see clearly that all the white people must go back east of the Ohio. Yesterday I beheld such a sight as God knows I never expected to see, and He only knows the sensation it created in my heart. I saw my countrymen, free born Americans, robbed of the inheritance which their fathers bequeathed them, stripped of the arms which achieved our independence, and marched into a strange land by hundreds as black cattle for the market. Before and behind, on the right and the left, their proud victors gleamed in arms, their heads erect in the pride of victory. I think the line, including wagons, was half a mile long. The sensations the scene produced in our camp were inexpressible, mortification, indignation, apprehension, suspicion, jealousy, rage, madness. It was a sad day, but the poor fellows went last evening on board the shipping, and I presume passed over to York. I saw a gentleman who was present when General Hull alighted from his carriage at Fort George, hale, corpulent, and apparently in high spirits. He goes to Quebec."

One other reverse the Americans had met with this month in the loss of Fort Dearborn, (Chicago). The Indians had attacked it, massacred the garrison, and destroyed it by fire.

On August 30th Brock left by a schooner for Kingston in order to review the militia there. On the way he wrote to his brothers. It was almost the last letter they were to receive from him, and it breathes throughout a spirit of love and of yearning that the unhappy differences between them might be healed.

Lake Ontario, September 3rd.—"You will have heard of the complete success which attended the efforts I directed against Detroit. I have received so many letters from people whose opinion I value, expressive of their admiration of the exploit, that I begin to attach to it more importance than I was at first inclined. Should the affair be viewed in England in the light it is here, I cannot fail of meeting reward and escaping the honour of being placed high on a shelf never to be taken down. Some say that nothing could have been more desperate than the measure; but I answer that the state of the province admitted of nothing but desperate remedies. I got possession of the letters of my antagonist addressed to the secretary of war, and also of the sentiments which hundreds of his army uttered to their friends. Confidence in the general was gone, and evident despondency prevailed throughout. I have succeeded beyond

expectation. I crossed the river contrary to the opinion of Colonel Procter. It is therefore no wonder that envy should attribute to good fortune what in justice to my own discernment, I must say, proceeded from a cool calculation of the *pours* and *contres*. It is supposed that the value of the articles captured will amount to thirty or forty thousand pounds. In that case, my proportion will be something considerable. If it enables me to contribute to your comfort and happiness, I shall esteem it my highest reward.

"When I returned heaven thanks for my amazing success, I thought of you all. You appeared to me happy—your late sorrows forgotten; and I felt as if you acknowledged that the many benefits, which for a series of years I received from you, were not unworthily bestowed. Let me know, my dearest brothers, that you are all again united. The want of union was nearly losing this province without a struggle, and be assured it operates in the same way in families.

"A cessation of hostilities has taken place along this frontier. Should peace follow the measure all will be well; if hostilities recommence, nothing could be more unfortunate than this pause.

"I shall see Vincent, I hope, this evening at Kingston. He is appointed to the command of that post, a most important one. I have withdrawn Plenderleath from Niagara to assist him. James Brock is likewise at Kingston. The 41st is an

uncommonly fine regiment, but, with few exceptions, badly officered."

At Kingston, where he arrived on the morning of September 4th, General Brock was also received with demonstrations of joy. In answer to the address presented to him there, he said: "Nothing but the confidence which the admirable conduct of the York and Lincoln Regiments of militia excited, could have induced me to undertake an expedition such as lately terminated so much to the advantage of the country. I have reason, from the reports made to me by the officers stationed at Kingston, to rely with equal confidence on the discipline and gallantry of the militia in this district. It is with the highest satisfaction I understand, that in the midst of unavoidable privations and fatigue, they bear in mind that the cause in which they are engaged involves their dearest interests and the happiness of their families."

While at Kingston General Brock received a letter of congratulation from Sir George Prevost, dated August 30th. It was as follows: "I propose sending an aide-de-camp to England with your short despatch. I shall delay his departure from hence until September 1st in hopes of obtaining from you before that time, further particulars of the operations which led to General Hull's disgrace. Well aware of the difficulties you have surmounted for the preservation of your government entire, I shall endeavour to do justice to your merit in my

report to His Majesty's minister upon the success which has crowned your energy and zeal. I am in hourly expectation of receiving from General Dearborn intelligence respecting the reception of the proposed suspension of hostilities in consequence of the revocation of the orders-in-council, which are the plea for war in the American cabinet. The king's government having most unequivocally expressed to me their desire to preserve peace with the United States, that they might, uninterruptedly, pursue with the whole disposable force of the country the great interests committed in Europe, I have endeavoured to be instrumental in the accomplishment of their views, but I consider it most fortunate to have been enabled to do so without interfering with your operations on the Detroit. I have sent you men, money, and stores of every kind."

This was rather an aggravating statement under the circumstances, for by reason of the armistice, of which the Americans knew how to take full advantage, stores of all kinds were at this time being sent as rapidly as possible by Lake Ontario to the enemy's camp at Niagara, and vessels at Ogdensburg were moved in perfect safety to Sacketts Harbour, there to be fitted out as ships of war.

On the 31st Sir George wrote again: "I had scarcely closed the letter addressed to you yesterday when an aide-de-camp from Major-General Dear-

born made his appearance and delivered to me the despatch herewith transmitted." The despatch announced that the president of the United States had not thought proper to authorize a continuance of the provisional measure entered into by His Excellency and General Dearborn, through the Adjutant-General Colonel Baynes; consequently, the armistice was to cease four days from the time of the communication reaching Montreal and the posts of Kingston and Fort George. This despatch had been written while the authorities at Washington were in ignorance of what had happened at Detroit, for it said: "If a suspension of offensive operations shall have been mutually consented to between General Hull and the commanding officer of the British forces at and near Detroit, as proposed, they will respectively be authorized at the expiration of four days, subsequent to their receiving copies of this communication, to consider themselves released from any agreement thus entered into."

General Brock adds a postcript on September 4th to the letter to his brother: "Hostilities, I this instant understand, are to be renewed in four days, and though landed only two hours I must return immediately to Niagara, whence I shall write fully." General Brock was of the opinion that an expedition should be immediately sent to Sacketts Harbour, thirty-five miles across the lake from Kingston, in order to destroy the arsenal there,

but Sir George Prevost disapproved. The official intelligence of the president's refusal to continue the truce reached the commander-in-chief at Montreal on August 30th, a day or two before the arrival there of Captain Glegg with the trophies and the despatches relating to the capture of Detroit. The attack on Sacketts Harbour could have been carried into effect immediately on the cessation of the armistice, but the opportunity was allowed to pass. In fact, in his general order of August 31st, Sir George Prevost was rather apologetic for having dared to invade the territory of the United States.

The British government approved of Sir George Prevost's pacific policy at the commencement of the war, as we gather from a letter of Lord Bathurst to the governor-general, written on October 1st, 1812, before the refusal of the American president to ratify the armistice was known in England: "The desire which you have unceasingly manifested to avoid hostilities with the subjects of the United States, is not more in conformity with your own feelings than with the wishes and intentions of His Majesty's government, and therefore your correspondence with General Dearborn cannot fail to receive their cordial concurrence." By the time this letter reached its destination, had it not been for General Brock's more vigorous measures, Sir George Prevost's careful avoidance of hostilities, so much approved of by

the home government, would probably have led to the loss of the Canadas.

As it was, the month's armistice had immensely strengthened the position of the enemy on the Niagara frontier. General Brock, who had hastened back there from Kingston, wrote from Fort George on September 7th to the commander-in-chief:—

"Sir, on my arrival here yesterday morning I found that intimation had been received by Major-General Sheaffe to renew hostilities at noon to-morrow. During the cessation of hostilities vast supplies have been received by the enemy. His field artillery is numerous, and I have reason to believe his heavy ordnance has been considerably increased. He is now busy erecting batteries in front of Fort George, and everything indicates an intention of commencing active operations. Reinforcements of troops of every description have evidently arrived. I have written to Amherstburg for such troops as Colonel Procter conceived the state of affairs in that quarter enabled him to part with. Colonel Vincent has likewise been written to on the same subject. The prodigious quantity of pork and flour which have been observed landing on the opposite shore from a number of vessels and large boats which have entered the river during the armistice, are sufficient to supply the wants for a long period of a considerable force. I expect an attack almost immediately. The enemy will either turn my left flank, which he may easily accomplish

during a calm night, or attempt to force his way across under cover of his artillery. We stand greatly in need of officers, men and heavy ordnance. Captain Holcroft has been indefatigable and has done everything in the power of an individual, but on such an extended line assistance is necessary.

"I look every day for the arrival of five 24-pounders from Detroit, and other artillery and stores which are not required there, beside two thousand muskets. Should your Excellency be in a situation to send reinforcements to the upper country, the whole of the force at present at Kingston might be directed to proceed hither. One thousand additional regulars are necessary. A force of that description ought to be stationed at Pelham on the Grand River, to act as exigencies might require. At present, the whole of my force being necessary for the defence of the banks of the river Niagara, no part can look for support. If I can continue to maintain my position six weeks longer the campaign will have terminated in a manner little expected in the states. I stand in want of more artillerymen and a thousand regulars. I have thus given your Excellency a hasty sketch of my situation, and this I can aver, that no exertions shall be wanting to do justice to the important command with which I am entrusted." Two days afterwards he wrote again that news had come from Colonel Procter that another attack was expected at Amherstburg, as reinforcements for the Americans were on their

way from Kentucky. Although so short himself of men, General Brock determined to send to the Detroit frontier two flank companies of the Newfoundland Regiment, which had just joined him at Fort George. Fresh troops were still arriving for the enemy at Niagara, supposed to belong to the Pennsylvania quota. They were reported as in a wretched state as to clothing, and ill-fitted to brave the rains and cold of the coming season. There was much sickness in the American camp. Two or three hundred Indians had joined them, but General Brock did not believe they would act against him. It all depended, however, on which side success lay. Any disaster would send them to the winning side.

On September 10th Colonel Procter wrote that the *Queen Charlotte* had been sent off from Detroit with ordnance and stores for Fort Erie, and also the remainder of the prisoners of war, with a guard of two subalterns and forty men of the 41st Regiment, with whom, as Procter says, "I cannot now afford to part." The *Detroit*, formerly the *Adams*, captured at Detroit, was to sail in a few days with prisoners and stores.

The expedition to Fort Wayne had already set off before any counter orders arrived. It was a troublesome and difficult journey of several hundred miles into the enemy's country, but its capture was important as being the base of supplies for the left division of the American army. It was at this time

invested by a body of Indians. Captain Muir of the 41st, with one hundred and fifty men of that regiment, the same number of militia, some field guns and a howitzer, crossed Lake Erie to the Miami River, thence to the village of that name, where they were joined by three hundred Indian warriors. They had proceeded only about half way to the fort when they were met by some Indians who informed them that two thousand five hundred Ohio and Kentucky volunteers under General Winchester were advancing to the Miami, and were then only about three miles distant. As a proof of this story they produced the scalps of five Americans, part of the advance guard, whom they had treacherously killed while engaged in friendly conversation. Under the circumstances it would have been folly to proceed, so Captain Muir conducted an orderly retreat, expecting at any moment to be attacked by the advancing force. He at last reached his boats without the loss of a man or any of his supplies, and returned to Amherstburg after a fruitless absence of three weeks. As it turned out afterwards the Americans had avoided an engagement, thinking the British had a much superior force.

In the meantime Sir George Prevost was again complicating affairs by his vacillating and contradictory orders. He wrote on September 7th finding fault with General Brock's conduct of affairs on the Detroit frontier. It drew from the general the following reply, dated September 18th: "I have

been honoured with your Excellency's despatch, dated the 7th inst. I have implicitly followed your Excellency's instructions, and abstained under the greatest temptations and provocations from every act of hostility." He enclosed a letter from Colonel Procter containing the information of the force sent under Captain Muir against Fort Wayne, and continued: "I gave orders for it previous to my leaving Amherstburg, which must have induced Colonel Procter to proceed upon receiving intelligence of the recommencement of hostilities, without waiting for further directions. I regret exceedingly that this service should be undertaken contrary to your Excellency's wishes, but I beg leave to assure you that the principal object in sending a British force to Fort Wayne is with the hope of preserving the lives of the garrison. By the last accounts the place was invested by a numerous body of Indians, with very little prospect of being relieved. The prisoners of war, who knew perfectly the situation of the garrison, rejoiced at the measure, and give us full credit for our intentions. The Indians were likewise looking to us for assistance. They heard of the armistice with every mark of jealousy. Had we refused joining them in this expedition I cannot calculate the consequences. I have already been asked to pledge my word that England would enter into no negotiation in which their interests were not included. Could they be brought to imagine that we should desert them, the conse-

quences must be fatal." General Brock added that the attack of the enemy on his frontier could not be long delayed, and that he thought the militia could not be kept together without such a prospect.

On the 14th Sir George Prevost wrote again, evidently in a panic, and advised General Brock to take immediate steps for evacuating Detroit, together with the territory of Michigan. This must have indeed been galling to the second in command. The reason for this advice, Sir George said, was a despatch dated July 4th from Lord Bathurst, which seems to have been somewhat belated. It said that His Majesty's government trusted he would be able to suspend with perfect safety all extraordinary preparations for defence which he might have been induced to make, also that every special requisition for warlike stores and accoutrements had been complied with, except the clothing of the corps proposed to be raised from the Glengarry emigrants, and that the minister had not thought it necessary to direct the preparation of any further supplies.

Sir George adds: "This will afford you a strong proof of the infatuation of His Majesty's ministers upon the subject of American affairs, and show how entirely I have been left to my own resources in the event which has taken place." He informed Brock that he could not expect any more reinforcements.

The latter did not agree with Sir George Prevost's opinion as to the advisability of evacuating

Detroit and the Michigan territory, the fruits of his splendid victory. He wrote from York on September 28th to the commander-in-chief: "I have been honoured with your Excellency's despatches dated the 14th inst. I shall suspend, under the latitude left by your Excellency to my discretion, the evacuation of Fort Detroit. Such a measure would most likely be followed by the total extinction of the population on that side of the river, as the Indians, aware of our weakness and inability to carry on active warfare, would only think of entering into terms with the enemy.

"The Indians, since the Miami affair in 1793, have been extremely suspicious of our conduct, but the violent wrongs committed by the Americans on their territory have rendered it an act of policy with them to disguise their sentiments. Could they be persuaded that a peace between the belligerents would take place without admitting their claim to an extensive tract of country fraudulently usurped from them, and opposing a frontier to the present unbounded views of the Americans, I am satisfied in my own mind that they would immediately compromise with the enemy. I cannot conceive a connection more likely to lead to more awful consequences. Should negotiations of peace be opened I cannot be too earnest with your Excellency to represent to the king's ministers the expediency of including the Indians as allies, and not to leave them exposed to the unrelenting fury of their enemies.

"The enemy has evidently assumed defensive measures along the strait of Niagara. His force, I apprehend, is not equal to attempt the expedition across the river with any probability of success. It is, however, currently reported that large reinforcements are on their march. Should they arrive an attack cannot be long delayed. The approach of the rainy season would increase the sickness with which the troops [of the United States] are already afflicted. Those under my command are in perfect health and spirits."

It speaks well for the discipline and morale of Brock's little army that he is able to say: "It is certainly something singular that we should be upwards of two months in a state of warfare, and that along this widely extended frontier not a single death, either natural or by the sword, should have occurred among the troops under my command, and we have not been altogether idle; nor has a single desertion taken place."

On September 17th General Brock had written to Colonel Procter that he approved of his expedition against Fort Wayne, which would probably save the garrison from the fate of Chicago. He added, however, in obedience to Sir George Prevost's instructions: "It must be explicitly understood that you are not to resort to offensive warfare for purposes of conquest; your operations are to be confined to measures of defence and security. It may become necessary to destroy the fort of Sandusky

and the road which runs through it from Cleveland to the foot of the rapids. The road from the river Raisin to Detroit is perhaps in too bad a state to offer any aid to the approach of an enemy except in the winter. As to the Indians, Colonel Elliott does not possess the influence over them that Captain McKee does. In conversation with him you may take an opportunity of intimating that I have not been unmindful of the interests of the Indians in my communications to ministers; and I wish you to learn (as if casually the subject of conversation) what stipulations they would propose for themselves or be willing to accede to in case of either failure or success. I wish the engineers to proceed immediately to strengthening Fort Amherstburg, the plan for which I shall be glad to see as soon as possible."

On September 18th the general wrote to his brother Savery: "You doubtless feel much anxiety on my account. I am really placed in a most awkward predicament. If I get through my present difficulties with tolerable success I cannot but obtain praise. But I have already surmounted difficulties of infinitely greater magnitude. Were the Americans of one mind the opposition I could make would be unavailing; but I am not without hope that their divisions may be the saving of this province. A river of about five hundred yards divides the troops. My instructions oblige me to adopt defensive measures. It is thought that without the aid of the sword the American people may

be brought to a due sense of their own interests. I firmly believe I could at this moment sweep everything before me between Fort Niagara and Buffalo, but my success would be transient." No doubt the general thought of that other victory, which by the supineness of the commander-in-chief had been taken so little advantage of.

The letter continues: "I have now officers in whom I can confide. Six companies of the 49th are with me here, and the remaining four are at Kingston under Vincent. Although the regiment has been ten years in this country, drinking rum without bounds, it is still respectable and apparently ardent for an opportunity to acquire distinction. It has five captains in England and two on the staff in this country, which leaves it bare of experienced officers. The United States regiments of the line desert to us frequently, as the men are tired of the service. Their militia, being chiefly composed of enraged Democrats, are more ardent and anxious to engage, but they have neither subordination or discipline. They die very fast. You will hear of some decided action in the course of a fortnight, or in all probability we shall return to a state of tranquillity. I say decisive, because if I should be beaten the province is inevitably gone; and should I be victorious, I do not imagine the gentry from the other side will care to return to the charge. I am quite anxious that this state of warfare should end, as I wish much to join Lord Wellington and to see you all."

CHAPTER XXI

CONSEQUENCES OF ARMISTICE

THE month of September had seen the arrival at Montreal of the wretched prisoners from Detroit. Colonel Baynes wrote that they had reached there in a very miserable state, having travelled without halt. They had been sent to Fort William Henry on their way to Quebec. The officers were to be on parole and the men confined in the transports on the river. General Hull had been allowed to return home on parole, and also most of the officers who had families with them. "General Hull," Colonel Baynes said, "seemed to possess less feeling and sense of shame than any man in his situation could be supposed to have. The grounds on which he rests his defence are not well founded, as he said he had not gunpowder enough for one day. Sir George showed him the return of the large supply found in the fort. It did not create a blush!"

The unfortunate and incapable general was tried by court-martial on his return on parole to the United States. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. His defence was that he had not provisions enough to maintain the siege, that he expected the enemy would be reinforced, and that he knew the savage ferocity of the Indians. His sentence of death was remitted on account of his past

services, but his name was struck off the roll of the army, and he passed the remainder of his life in disgrace and obscurity.

Colonel Baynes reported in September that about half of the 8th, or King's Regiment, three hundred men, were at Côteau du Lac and the Isle aux Noix. These two places were the keys of Lower Canada, the former commanding the navigation of the St. Lawrence at its entrance into Lake Francis, the latter, in the Richelieu River, being the barrier of Lower Canada from the Champlain frontier. In the conflict of the eighteenth century these places had been much thought of by French engineers. They were, after the conquest, fortified by General Haldimand. Colonel Baynes was confident, he wrote, that the British could bring as many men into the field as the Americans, and of superior stuff, as the militia had improved so much in discipline, and therefore in spirit and confidence. Montreal, he thought, could turn out two thousand volunteer militia very tolerably drilled.

A naval success on the Atlantic on August 19th, when H.M.S. *Guerrière* was taken by the *Constitution*, had gone far to console the Americans for their discomfiture at Detroit, and they were hopefully preparing for another invasion, in this instance on the Niagara frontier, where Major-General Van Rensselaer[1] had assembled an army of over six

[1] General Van Rensselaer, patroon of New York, was not a professional soldier, but relied in military matters on the advice of his cousin and adjutant, Colonel Van Rensselaer.

thousand men, with headquarters at the village of Lewiston, opposite Queenston.

At Plattsburg there were about five thousand troops, half of them regulars under the immediate command of Major-General Dearborn, who wrote on September 26th to General Van Rensselaer: "At all events we must calculate on possessing Upper Canada before the winter sets in." Ex-President Jefferson wrote: "I fear that Hull's surrender has been more than the mere loss of a year to us. Perhaps, however, the patriotic efforts from Kentucky and Ohio by recalling the British force to its upper posts, may yet give time to Dearborn to strike a blow below. Effective possession of the river from Montreal to Chaudière, which is practicable, would give us the upper country at our leisure."

So spoke the generals and politicians. In the meantime, courteous messages were passing from Major-General Van Rensselaer to Major-General Brock as to the disposition of the prisoners of war, and of the women and children who had accompanied them from Detroit. General Brock writes to the American general: "With much regret I have perceived very heavy firing from both sides of the river. I am, however, given to understand that on all occasions it commenced on your side, and from the circumstance of the flag of truce which I did myself the honour to send over yesterday, having been repeatedly fired on while in the act of crossing

the river, I am inclined to give full credit to the correctness of the information. You may rest assured on my repeating my most positive orders against the continuance of a practice which can only be injurious to individuals, without promoting the object which both our nations may have in view."

Another letter from John Lovett,—secretary to General Van Rensselaer—to Joseph Alexander, gives an idea of the state of affairs from the American point of view, and indirectly bears testimony to the unceasing labour and watchfulness of the British general:—

Headquarters, Lewiston, September 22nd, 1812.

"The enemy appears to be in a state of preparedness to give or receive an attack. Every day or two they make some movement which indicates a disposition to attack us immediately. The night before last every ship they have on Lake Ontario came into the mouth of Niagara. Then, to be sure, we thought it time to look out for breakers. But yesterday, when Colonel Van Rensselaer went over with a flag to Fort George, there was not a ship in sight nor a general officer there; where gone we know not. Notwithstanding the most positive orders on both sides, our sentries have kept up almost a constant warfare for a month past. On the bank of the river musket balls are about as thick as whip-poor-wills on a summer evening. We are promised reinforcements by companies, battalions, regiments, brigades,

and I might almost say armies, but not a single man has joined us in some weeks. Besides our men here are getting down very fast. The morning's report of sick was one hundred and forty-nine. Give Mrs. Lovett the inclosed. It contains an impression of General Brock's seal, with his most appropriate motto, 'He who guards never sleeps.'"

Although this did not happen to be the general's motto, it very well expressed his attitude. That forty miles of frontier to defend with his limited force, was a problem ever present to him. The American army on the Niagara frontier consisted of five thousand two hundred men of the New York militia, three hundred field and light artillery, eight hundred of the 6th, 13th and 23rd Regiments of Foot (regulars), in all six thousand three hundred men, stationed between Niagara and Lewiston, under the command of Major-General Van Rensselaer. At Black Rock and Buffalo, twenty-eight miles distant, were one thousand six hundred and forty regulars, three hundred and eighty-six militia and two hundred and fifty sailors under the command of Brigadier-General Smyth. Four hundred Seneca Indians had also joined the United States forces.

Major-General Brock had under his immediate command part of the 41st and 49th Regiments, a few companies of militia and three hundred Indians, a force in all of about fifteen hundred men, dispersed between Fort Erie, opposite Black Rock, and Fort George, thirty-six miles distant. Only a

small number could be available at any one point. With unwearied diligence the British commander watched the motions of the enemy, but under the circumstances he knew that it was impossible to prevent the landing of the hostile troops, especially if their operations were carried out at night. There was one point in his favour, the want of accord between the American generals. Smyth thought the crossing should be made above the Falls, Van Rensselaer favoured the attack on the river below.

A letter to Brock from Sir George Prevost of September 25th, showed that he still held the idea of simply being on the defensive, and had a slavish fear of doing anything that might draw on himself blame from the English ministry. He wrote: "It no longer appears by your letter of the 13th that you consider the enemy's operations on the Niagara frontier indicative of active operations. If the government of America inclines to defensive measures, I can only ascribe its determination to two causes, the first is the expectation of such overtures from us as will lead to a suspension of hostilities preparatory to negotiations for peace; the other arises from having ascertained by experience our ability in the Canadas to resist the attack of a tumultuary force. I agree in opinion with you that so wretched is the organization and discipline of the American army, that at this moment much might be effected against them; but as the government at home could derive no substantial advantage from any disgrace we

might inflict on them, whilst the more important concerns of the country are committed in Europe, I again request you will steadily pursue that policy which shall appear to you best calculated to promote the dwindling away of such a force by its own inefficient means."

These were certainly rather enigmatical words from the commander-in-chief, and calculated rather to dampen than to inspire the ardour of the defenders of the country. The evil effect of the policy of inaction was soon apparent.

On October 9th the brig *Detroit* (late United States brig *Adams*), and the North-West Company's brig *Caledonia* (one hundred tons), having arrived at Fort Erie the preceding day from Detroit, were boarded and carried off at dawn by Lieutenant Elliott of the American navy with a hundred seamen and soldiers in two large boats. This officer was stationed at the time at Black Rock, superintending the equipment of some schooners purchased for service on Lake Erie. Had it not been for the defensive measures forced on General Brock by the commander-in-chief, these schooners would probably have been destroyed. The two British vessels contained forty prisoners, some cannon and small arms captured at Detroit, and also a valuable lot of furs in the *Caledonia* belonging to the South-West Company. The Americans who attacked the two brigs far out-numbered the crews and militia on board, who amounted

in all to sixty-eight men. After the capture Lieutenant Elliott ran the *Caledonia* close under the batteries at Black Rock, but on account of the heavy fire from Fort Erie he was compelled to abandon the *Detroit* at Squaw Island. Here she was boarded by a subaltern detachment from Fort Erie, which had come to the rescue. Unfortunately their efforts were unavailing, and the Americans set her on fire.

General Brock's letter relating to the disaster is dated Fort George, October 11th, 1812: "I had scarcely closed my despatch to your Excellency, of the 9th, when I was suddenly called away to Fort Erie, in consequence of a bold, and I regret to say, successful attack by the enemy on His Majesty's ship *Detroit* and the private brig *Caledonia*, which had both arrived the preceding day from Amherstburg. It appears by every account I have been able to collect, that a little before day a number of boats, full of men, dropped down with the current unobserved, boarded both vessels at the same moment, and cutting their cables were proceeding with them to the American shore, when Major Ormsby who witnessed the transaction, directed the batteries to open upon them, and soon compelled the enemy to abandon the *Detroit*, which grounded about the centre of Squaw Island, a little more than a mile below Black Rock. She was then boarded by a party of the 49th Regiment, but as no anchor remained, and being otherwise unpro-

vided with every means by which she could be hauled off, the officers, throwing her guns overboard, after sustaining a smart fire of musketry, decided to quit her. A private, who is accused of getting drunk, and a prisoner of war, who was unable from his wounds to escape, with about twenty prisoners brought by the *Detroit* from Amherstburg, remained, however, behind; these it became necessary to remove before the vessel could be destroyed, and Cornet Pell, major of the Provincial Cavalry, offered his services. Being unfortunately wounded as he was getting on board, and falling back into the boat, a confusion arose, during which the boat drifted from the vessel, leaving on board two of the 41st who had previously ascended. In the meantime the *Caledonia* was secured by the enemy, and a cargo of furs belonging to the South-West Company landed. I reached the spot soon after sunset, and intended to have renewed the attempt to recover the *Detroit*, which I had every prospect of accomplishing, assisted by the crew of the *Lady Prevost*, which vessel had anchored a short time before, but before the necessary arrangements could be made, the enemy boarded her, and in a few minutes she was seen in flames. This event is particularly unfortunate, and may reduce us to incalculable distress.

"The enemy is making every exertion to gain a naval superiority on both lakes, which if they accomplish I do not see how we can retain the

country. More vessels are fitting out for war on the other side of Squaw Island, which I should have attempted to destroy but for your Excellency's repeated instructions to forbear. Now such a force is collected for their protection as will render every operation against them very hazardous. The manner our guns were served yesterday points out the necessity of an increase, if possible, of artillerymen to our present small number of regulars. The militia evinced a good spirit, but fired without much effect. The enemy, however, must have lost some men, and it is only wonderful that in a contest of a whole day, no life was lost on our side. The fire of the enemy was incessant, but badly directed till the close of the day, when it began to improve.

"Lieutenant Rolette, who commanded the *Detroit*, had, and I believe deservedly, the character of a brave, attentive officer. His vessel must, however, have been surprised—an easy operation when she lay at anchor, and I have reason to suspect that this consideration was not sufficiently attended to by the officers commanding on board and on shore. We have not only sustained a heavy loss in the vessel, but likewise in the cargo, which consisted of four 12-pounders, a large quantity of shot and about two hundred muskets, all of which were intended for Kingston and Prescott. The only consolation is that she escaped the enemy, whose conduct did not entitle him to so rich a prize.

"The enemy has brought some boats overland

from Schlosser to the Niagara River, and made an attempt last night to carry off the guard over the store at Queenston. I shall refrain as long as possible under your Excellency's positive injunctions, from every hostile act, although sensible that each day's delay gives him an advantage."

On the same day General Brock wrote to Colonel Procter, who was still in command on the Detroit frontier. After various instructions the letter concludes as follows: "An active, interesting scene is going to commence with you. I am perfectly at ease as to the result, provided we can manage the Indians and keep them attached to your cause, which, in fact, is theirs. The fate of the province is in your hands. Judging by every appearance we are not to remain long idle in this quarter. Were it not for the positive injunctions of the commander of the forces I should have acted with greater decision. This forbearance may be productive of ultimate good but I doubt its policy—perhaps we have not the means of judging correctly. You will, of course, adopt a very different line of conduct. The enemy must be kept in a state of constant ferment. Nothing new at Montreal. Lord Wellington has totally defeated Marmont, near Salamanca."

CHAPTER XXII

QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

IT was on October 6th, 1812, General Brock's forty-third birthday, when the despatches announcing the victory of Detroit and the colours taken there, arrived in London. It was a time when England waited breathless for news of her arms abroad. She was in the midst of her life and death struggle with her arch-foe in Europe, and blood and treasure were being poured on the fields of Spain. No wonder, then, that news of a victory even in distant Canada was hailed with acclaim, and bells were set ringing and guns were fired to let the people know the good news.

Early in the day the wife of William Brock asked her husband why the park and tower guns were saluting. "For Isaac, of course," was his reply. "Do you not know that this is his birthday?" Later he learnt that what he had said in jest was true. It was indeed for Isaac Brock that bells were ringing and guns saluting.

Sir George Prevost's despatch to Lord Bathurst told of the great ability and judgment with which General Brock had planned, and the promptitude, energy, and fortitude with which he had effected the preservation of Upper Canada with the sacrifice

of so little British blood. The answer was prompt. Lord Bathurst wrote: "I am commanded by His Royal Highness to desire you to take the earliest opportunity of conveying His Royal Highness' approbation of the able, judicious and decisive conduct of Major-General Brock, of the zeal and spirit manifested by Colonel Procter and the other officers, as well as of the intrepidity of the troops. You will inform Major-General Brock that His Royal Highness, taking into consideration all the difficulties by which he was surrounded from the time of the invasion of the province by the American army under the command of General Hull, and the singular judgment, firmness, skill and courage with which he was enabled to surmount them so effectually has been pleased to appoint him an extra knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath."

On October 10th the honours were gazetted. It was on October 13th, a date not to be forgotten, that Irving Brock received the short note, written at Detroit: "Rejoice at my good fortune and join me in prayers to heaven. Let me hear you are united and happy." William Brock writes on that day to his brother Savery in Guernsey: "Since I sent you on Tuesday last the *Gazette* containing the despatches, I have been so engrossed with the one all-exciting subject as to be unable to attend to your business. As I well know that Isaac would not consider his good fortune complete unless a reconciliation took place between Irving and my-

self, I went up to-day on seeing him and shook hands. He then showed me two lines which he had just received from Isaac. It is satisfactory to me that we shook hands before I was aware of the contents. I have again seen Captain Coore, who told me that the Prince Regent had spoken to him about Isaac for nearly half an hour. His Royal Highness was pleased to say that General Brock had done more in one hour than could have been done in six months' negotiation with Mr. Russell, that he had by his exploit given a lustre to the British army, etc. The very prompt manner in which the red riband has been conferred, confirms the flattering remarks of the prince, and proves the favourable impression of the ministry. I look forward to Isaac receiving the thanks of parliament when it meets again. Captain Coore thinks he will now take Niagara. May Sir Isaac long live to be an example to your Julian and an honour to us all."

While the brothers were rejoicing in his good fortune, the general was passing anxious days and nights. It was apparent that an attack on the frontier was coming, but at what point on the line it was impossible to determine. An American spy had visited the British camp and reported that General Brock had left for Detroit with all the forces he could spare from Niagara. Possibly this report encouraged the American general to hasten his movements.

The night of October 12th was cold and stormy.

General Brock sat late at his desk writing despatches and instructions for the officers commanding at different points of the river. His last letter to Sir George Prevost was written then. It reads: "The vast number of troops which have been this day added to the strong force previously collected on the opposite side, convinces me, with other indications, that an attack is not far distant. I have, in consequence, directed every exertion to be made to complete the militia to two thousand men, but I fear that I shall not be able to effect my object with willing, well-disposed characters."

It was past midnight when the general sought repose. Was the beatific vision again vouchsafed him of his brothers once more united and happy? Before the dawn, about four a.m., the sound of distant firing roused him from his short slumber. The hour so long expected had come at last. In a few moments the general was in his saddle, and not waiting even for his aide-de-camp to accompany him, he galloped off by the road to Queenston, seven miles away, whence the ominous sound came.

It was not the general only who had waited with impatience for the decisive moment. One of the young volunteers on guard, Lieutenant Robinson, in his account of that fateful day, writes: "The lines had been watched with all the care and attention which the extent of our force rendered possible, and such was the fatigue which our men underwent from want of rest, and exposure to the

inclement weather, that they welcomed with joy the prospect of a field which they thought would be decisive."[1]

All along the river bank from Fort George to Queenston, a mile or two apart, Canadian batteries commanded different points where a crossing might be made. The principal were at Brown's Point, two miles from Queenston, and Vrooman's Point, nearer that village. At the former was stationed a company of York volunteers, under the command of Captain Cameron. The latter, which commanded Lewiston and the landing at Queenston, was guarded by another company of York volunteers under the command of Captain Heward.

Above the village of Queenston the channel of the river narrows, and the banks rise to the height of three hundred feet, thickly covered with trees and shrubs. At the ferry between Lewiston and Queenston the river is one thousand two hundred and fifty feet in breadth, with a depth of from two to three hundred feet and a very rapid current. Half way down the hill, or the mountain, as it was called, was the redan battery, where the flank light company of the 49th Regiment, under Captain

[1] This letter appears in full in the present writer's "Ten Years of Upper Canada." When that book was published the name of the writer of the letter was not known, as the manuscript containing it found in the archives at Ottawa was not signed. Happily, from a draft of the letter which was among the Robinson family papers, it was discovered that the writer of this admirable account of the battle of Queenston Heights was Lieutenant Robinson, afterwards the distinguished Sir John Beverley Robinson, chief justice of Upper Canada.

Williams was stationed. The other flank company of the 49th, the grenadiers, numbering only forty-six men, under Major Dennis, was at the village of Queenston, where also was stationed Captain Chisholm's company from York, and Captain Hatt's company of 5th Lincoln militia. There was a small detachment of artillery in the village, with two 3-pounders, under the command of Lieutenant Crowther and Captain Ball. On the height opposite Queenston, on the American side, was Fort Grey, whose guns commanded that village. From this point the firing first came.

It was about half an hour before daylight, probably about four a.m., in the midst of a violent storm of wind and rain, that, under cover of darkness, the Americans began crossing the river. They were seen by the militia sentinel on guard at Queenston, who immediately ran to the guardhouse to give the alarm. As soon as possible, the grenadier company of the 49th and the militia company stationed there, began firing on them, using also the two 3-pounders with good effect. Colonel Van Rensselaer, a relative of the general, who had charge of the troops crossing, was at this time severely wounded, as well as many of the rank and file, before the boats had gone far from their side of the river. The gun at Vrooman's Point, which commanded the landing at Lewiston, also joined in, and many of the boats were driven back, whilst others in a battered condition drifted down the

river and ran ashore near Vrooman's Point. Those on board, many of them wounded, were made prisoners.

The detachment of York Volunteers at Brown's Point, two miles below, had heard the firing, and made ready to join their comrades in helping to drive the invaders back. Dawn was now glimmering in the east, but the semi-darkness was illumined by the discharge of musketry and the flash of artillery. In spite of the constant fire, some boats succeeded in effecting a landing.

Captain Cameron, in command of the York company at Brown's Point, was at first undecided whether to advance or to remain at the post assigned him to defend. It had been thought that the enemy would make various attacks at different points on the line, and this might be a feint, while the real landing would take place elsewhere. However, he decided to go to the aid of the troops above, and had scarcely set off on his march in that direction when General Brock galloped past alone. He waved his hand as he flew by, bidding the little troop press on.[1] Little need to tell them to follow. Their confidence in their general was unbounded. They were ready to follow him through danger and to death. In a few minutes the general reached and passed Vrooman's Point, and was soon followed by

[1] This command, the author thinks, is the origin of the report that Brock's dying words were, "Push on, brave York Volunteers." It is more probable that this was the occasion on which he used them.

his two aides, Major Glegg and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell.

The reception given to the invaders had been a warm one. To quote from Lieutenant Robinson: "Grape and musket shot poured upon them at close quarters as they approached the shore. A single discharge of grape from a brass 6-pounder, directed by Captain Dennis of the 49th, destroyed fifteen in a boat. Three of the *bateaux* landed below Mr. Hamilton's garden in Queenston and were met by a party of militia and a few regulars, who slaughtered almost the whole of them, taking the rest prisoners. Several other boats were so shattered and disabled that the men in them threw down their arms and came on shore, merely to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war. As we advanced with our company, we met troops of Americans on their way to Fort George under guard, and the road was lined with miserable wretches suffering under wounds of all descriptions, and crawling to our houses for protection and comfort. The spectacle struck us, who were unused to such scenes, with horror, but we hurried to the mountain, impressed with the idea that the enemy's attempt was already frustrated, and the business of the day nearly completed."

Thus far, everything had gone well for the defense, and the general, on his approach to Queenston, was greeted with the news that the greater number of the boats had been destroyed or taken. Another

brigade of four boats was just then setting off from Lewiston, and the 49th Light Company, which had been stationed at the redan battery on the mountain, was ordered down to assist in preventing them landing. General Brock had ridden forward to inspect this battery, where the 18-pounder had been left in charge of eight artillerymen. He had just dismounted to enter the enclosure when shots from above warned him that the enemy had gained the crest of the hill. As was learned afterwards, Captain Wool, of the United States army, on whom devolved the command of the boats when Colonel Van Rensselaer was wounded, had very skilfully conducted his men up the river, and on shore, until they came to a fisherman's path leading up the south side of the mountain, a path so steep and narrow that it had been left unguarded. They had succeeded in reaching the height unobserved, where they remained concealed by the crags and trees. It was now about seven in the morning.

In the dangerous and exposed position in which General Brock found himself, there was nothing to be done but to order the gun to be spiked and to evacuate the battery with all the speed possible. There was no time for him even to mount his horse. He led it down the hill and entered the village to reform his troops and gather them for an assault on the enemy above. There were but two hundred men available for the work, two companies of the 49th, about a hundred men, and the same number

of militia. It was a hazardous and daring enterprise to attempt to regain the heights with so small a force, but regardless of danger, as was his wont, General Brock, on foot, led his men to the charge up the hill. In vain was the attempt. The enemy above were so advantageously placed, and kept up such a tremendous fire, that the small number ascending were driven back. Again the general rallied them, and proceeded by the right of the mountain, meaning to attack them in flank. His tall form and prominent position as leader made him too easy a mark. Scarcely had he ascended a few paces when the fatal bullet struck him in the breast, and he fell, "too prodigal of that life so needed by all."

Of the last words of a hero there are always conflicting stories. Some say Isaac Brock called on his men to press forward, some say he murmured his sister's name; but who can doubt but that his faithful heart, in that supreme moment, was back with his loved ones, and it was not the heights of Queenston he was climbing but the steep cliffs of Guernsey, and it was not the roar of the cannon or the rush of the river that filled his dying ear, but the sound of the waves as they surged in the caverns of his island home.

They bore him from the place where he fell to a house at the foot of the hill, where his comrades covered his lifeless form, and then went back to the work he had left them to do. The handful of troops

had retreated to the village, where they were joined by the two companies of York Volunteers from Brown's and Vrooman's Points. About half-past nine Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, aide-de-camp, formed them again for an advance up the hill to dislodge the enemy.

Lieutenant Robinson tells the story: "We were halted a few moments in Mr. Hamilton's garden, where we were exposed to the shot from the American battery at Fort Grey, and from several field pieces directly opposite to us, besides an incessant and disorderly fire of musketry from the sides of the mountain. In a few minutes we were ordered to advance. The nature of the ground and the galling fire prevented any kind of order in ascending. We soon scrambled to the top to the right of the battery which they had gained, and were in some measure covered by the woods. There we stood and gathered the men as they advanced, and formed them into line. The fire was too hot to admit of delay. Scarcely more than fifty had collected, about thirty of whom were of our company, headed by Captain Cameron, and the remainder of the 49th Light Company, commanded by Captain Williams.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell was mounted and animating the men to charge. . . . The enemy were just in front, covered by bushes and logs. They were in no kind of order, and were three or four hundred in number. They perceived us form-

ing, and at about thirty yards distance, fired. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, who was on the left of our party calling upon us to advance, received a shot in his body and fell. His horse was at the same instant killed. Captain Williams, who was at the other extremity of our little band, fell the next moment apparently dead. The remainder of our men advanced a few paces, discharged their pieces, and then retired down the mountain. Lieutenant McLean was wounded in the thigh. Captain Cameron, in his attempt to save Colonel Macdonell, was exposed to a shower of musketry, but most miraculously escaped. He succeeded in carrying off his friend. Captain Williams recovered from the momentary effect of the wound in his head in time to escape down the mountain. This happened, I think, about ten a.m."

The two companies of the 49th and the militia, retreated to Vrooman's Point to wait there for further reinforcements, and the Americans remained in possession of the hill. They were enabled by the cessation of fire from the Canadian side to land fresh troops unmolested, and to carry back their dead and wounded in their boats.

The morning had ended most disastrously for the British. The beloved and trusted general was still in death, and near him lay his friend and aide-de-camp, mortally wounded. All along the line from Fort George to Erie, the evil tidings sped. How the news of defeat was brought to Fort Erie is told

by an officer[1] of the 100th stationed there. He relates how on the morning of October 13th the booming of distant artillery was faintly heard. Hunger and fatigue were no longer remembered, and the men were ordered to turn out under arms, and were soon on their way to the batteries opposite the enemy's station at Black Rock. The letter continues:—

"We had not assumed our position long, when an orderly officer of the Provincial Dragoons rode up and gave the information that the enemy were attempting to cross at Queenston, and that we must annoy them by every means in our power along the whole line, as was being done from Niagara to Queenston. The command was no sooner given than, bang, went off every gun we had in position. The enemy's guns were manned and returned the fire, and the day's work was begun. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when another dragoon, not wearing sword or helmet, bespattered horse and man with foam and mud, rode up. Said an old 'green tiger'[2] to me, 'Horse and man jaded, sir, depend upon it he brings bad news' 'Step down and see what news he brings.' Away my veteran doubles and soon returns. I knew from poor old Clibborn's face something dreadful had occurred. 'What news, Clibborn—what news, man?' I said, as he advanced toward

[1] Captain Driscoll.

[2] The 49th Regiment was known by that sobriquet.

the battery that was still keeping up a brisk fire.

"Clibborn walked on, perfectly unconscious of the balls that were ploughing up the ground around him. He uttered not a word, but shook his head. The pallor and expression of his countenance indicated the sorrow of his soul. I could stand it no longer. I placed my hand on his shoulder. 'For heaven's sake, tell us what you know.' In choking accents he revealed his melancholy information. 'General Brock is killed, the enemy has possession of Queenston Heights.' Every man in the battery was paralyzed. They ceased firing. A cheer from the enemy on the opposite side of the river recalled us to our duty. They had heard of their success down the river.

"Our men who had in various ways evinced their feelings, some weeping, some swearing, some in mournful silence, now exhibited demoniac energy. The heavy guns were loaded, traversed and fired as if they were field pieces. 'Take your time, men, don't throw away your fire, my lads.' 'No, sir, but we will give it to them hot and heavy.' All the guns were worked by the forty men of my company as if they wished to avenge the death of their beloved chief." [1]

At Niagara, the other extremity of the line, in obedience to General Brock's last order, sent from Queenston, a brisk fire had been kept up all morn-

[1] "Laura Secord," by Mrs. Curzon.

ing with the American fort opposite, whence hot shot poured on the little town, threatening to envelop it in flames. Captain Vigareaux, R.E., by a daring act of valour, saved a powder magazine from being ignited. As at Fort Erie, news of the disaster at Queenston only impelled the artillerymen to redouble their exertions. So well directed was their fire that by mid-day the American fort was silenced.

Major-General Sheaffe had, early in the morning, in obedience to a summons from General Brock, prepared to march to Queenston with about four companies of the 41st, three hundred and eighty rank and file, and nearly the same number of militia, together with the car brigade under Captain Holcroft. News of the repulse and the loss of the general was followed by a second despatch, telling of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell's attempt to take the hill, which had ended so disastrously.

General Sheaffe, with the field pieces of the car brigade, arrived at Vrooman's Point about eleven o'clock, and found there the handful of troops who had retreated to that place to await his arrival. Captain Holcroft's company, with the heavy guns, was placed in position to command the landing at Lewiston, and to prevent any more troops from crossing. The general decided that it was useless to attempt a charge up the hill in the face of the addition that had been made to the enemy's force, and their commanding position on the heights.

He determined, therefore, to make a long détour through the fields and woods behind Queenston. His force had been strengthened by about one hundred and fifty Mohawk Indians, under Chief Norton, who had come from the lake shore near Niagara, had skirted the village of St. Davids near Queenston, and then had silently moved eastwards through the dense forest, hemming the Americans in. About two p.m. Major Merritt's troop of cavalry appeared on the scene, and later still, a detachment of the 41st and two flank companies of militia arrived from Chippawa.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when the real battle of Queenston Heights began. General Sheaffe had gradually advanced towards the battery on the mountain held by the enemy. One spirit animated all the men, a fierce desire to avenge the death of their beloved chief, and to drive the aggressors back from Canadian soil. The main body on the right consisted of the 41st, and the flank companies of the Niagara militia, with two field pieces, 3-pounders, which had been dragged up the hill. The left consisted of the Mohawk Indians and a company of coloured troops, refugee slaves from the United States. The Light Company of the 49th, with the companies of York and Lincoln militia, formed the centre. In all a little over a thousand men, of whom half were regulars.

The Indians were the first to advance, and the Americans, who were expecting an attack from

quite another direction, were completely taken by surprise. General Sheaffe had succeeded in reaching their rear unseen. There was scarcely time for them to change their front when a fierce onslaught was made on them from all sides, the Indians uttering their terrific war whoop, and the rest of the troops joining in the shout.

In vain did the American officers, among them Winfield Scott, attempt to rally their men. A panic seized them in the face of the determined fire that was poured upon them, and, scarcely waiting to fire a volley, they fled by hundreds down the mountain, only to meet more of their enemies below. There was no retreat possible for them. It was indeed a furious and avenging force that pressed upon them, and drove them to the brink of that river whose deep waters seemed to offer a more merciful death than that which awaited them above. They fell in numbers. "The river," says one who was present,[1] "presented a shocking spectacle, filled with poor wretches who plunged into the stream with scarcely a prospect of being saved." Many leaped from the side of the mountain, and were dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

At last the fire from the American batteries at Lewiston ceased, and the battle was over in one short hour. Brock was indeed avenged. Two officers were now seen approaching bearing a white flag. They were conducted up the mountain to

[1] Lieutenant J. B. Robinson.

General Sheaffe, and with difficulty the slaughter was stopped. By the surrender, General Wadsworth and over nine hundred men, including sixty officers, were made prisoners of war. It was a complete victory, but dimmed by a national loss. That loss was felt through the two years of fighting that followed the battle of Queenston Heights. Sheaffe, who succeeded the fallen general, was lacking in the qualities that are requisite for a successful commander. His conduct at the taking of York in 1813, proved his unfitness for the position. Procter who had been left in command on the western frontier also lacked the firmness in action and fertility of resource that characterized the leader who had opened the campaign so brilliantly. But the influence which the lost leader wielded on the youth of the province lived after him, and stimulated them throughout the long struggle "to keep the land inviolate." Under Vincent and Harvey and Drummond and Macdonell and de Salaberry they fought as veterans, and when at the close of the war they laid down their arms not one foot of Canadian territory was occupied by the enemy.

Three times were Sir Isaac Brock's funeral rites observed. First, on that sad October day when a pause came in the conflict, and minute guns from each side of the river bore their token of respect from friend and foe for the general who had fallen in the midst of the battle. He was laid to rest first

in the cavalier bastion of Fort George which he himself had built. Dark days were yet to fall on Canada, when shot and shell poured over that grave in the bastion, and fire and sword laid the land desolate; but the spirit kindled by Brock in the country never failed, and though his voice was stilled, the echo of his words remained and the force of his example.

When peace came again, a grateful country resolved to raise to his memory a monument on the field where he fell, and twelve years afterwards a solemn procession passed again over that road by the river, and from far and near those who had served under him gathered to do him honour. A miscreant from the United States shattered this monument on April 13th, 1840, a crime that was execrated in that country as well as in Canada.

In order to take immediate steps to repair the desecration, Sir George Arthur, the governor-general, called upon the militia of Upper Canada and the regular troops then in the country, to assemble on Queenston Heights on June 30th of that year. The summons was obeyed with enthusiasm, and no greater civil and military display had ever been held in Canada. The youths whom Isaac Brock had led were gray-headed men now, judges and statesmen, the foremost in the land, but they had not forgotten him, and once again, in eloquent words, the story was told of how he had won the undying love and respect of the people.

A resolution was unanimously passed, that another monument, higher and nobler still, should be built in place of the one destroyed. No public money was asked, but the regular troops, officers and men, and the militia gave a freewill offering. In due time the sum of fifty thousand dollars was raised. While the monument was building, General Brock's body was placed in a private burying-ground in Mr. Hamilton's garden at the foot of the hill. In 1854, more than forty years after the battle, the column was finished, and once again a long procession followed the hero's bier. Nor was this all. In 1860 there was a notable gathering on that historic hill, when King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, came to do honour to the dead hero, and laid the topmost stone on the cairn that marks the spot where he fell. One hundred and sixty survivors of the volunteers of 1812 were present. Sir John Beverley Robinson was their spokesman. In his address to the prince he said: "In the long period that has elapsed very many have gone to their rest, who, having served in higher rank than ourselves, took a more conspicuous part in that glorious contest. We rejoice in the thought that what your Royal Highness has seen and will see of this prosperous and happy province will enable you to judge how valuable a possession was saved to the British Crown by the successful resistance made in the trying contest in which it was our fortune to bear a part, and your Royal Highness will then be

able to judge how large a debt the empire owed to the lamented hero Brock, whose gallant and generous heart shrank not in the darkest hour of the conflict, and whose example inspired the few with the ability and spirit to do the work of many." In reply the prince said: "I have willingly consented to lay the last stone of this monument. Every nation may, without offence to its neighbours, commemorate its heroes, their deeds of arms, and their noble deaths. This is no taunting boast of victory, no revival of long passed animosities, but a noble tribute to a soldier's fame, the more honourable because one readily acknowledges the bravery and chivalry of the people by whose hands he fell. I trust that Canada will never want such volunteers as those who fought in the last war nor her volunteers be without such a leader. But no less I fervently pray that your sons and grandsons may never be called upon to add other laurels to those which you so gallantly won."

The noble shaft on Queenston Heights dominates a wide expanse of land and lake. Deep and strong is the current of the river that flows at its base, but not deeper and stronger than the memory of the man who sleeps below.

INDEX

A

Abercromby, General, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 34, 64

Act, non-importation, 85

Adams, United States brig, 178, 256

Albany, 50, 192, 203, 233

Amherstburg, Fort (Malden), description of, 59; 41st Regiment at, 74; assistant quartermaster-general stationed at, 80; Indians gather there, 152; militia at, 177; Brock gives his attention to, 196; Colonel Procter arrives, 216; Brock and his squadron set out for, 230-2; the advance expected, 235; first skirmish, 236; Brock's general order from, 247-8; another attack expected, 273-4; Captain Muir returns to, 275

Amherst, General Lord, 35, 70, 179

Amiens, peace of, 9, 30-1, 43, 78

Armistice, the, 233, 261, 270-2, 276

Armstrong, General, 81; American minister in Paris, 112

Assembly, House of, 76, 143-5, 183, 184, 228, 229

B

Baby, Colonel, 209, 229, 248

Bâton Rouge, on the Mississippi, 7, 139

Baynes, Colonel, adjutant-general, letters to Brock, 134, 137-8, 145, 155, 180, 185, 204, 205, 208; Brock writes to, 183, 185, 198; sent to General Dearborn with the proposition for an armistice, 233

Bédard, Captain, 105; arrest of, 127-9; release of, 145; appointed judge, 158

Bowes, Colonel, 69, 73, 78

Bonaparte, Napoleon, 6, 9, 23, 24, 30, 38, 40, 41, 45, 71, 140, 167, 188

Brock, Daniel de Lisle, 70

Brock, Elizabeth, wife of John E. Tupper, 71

Brock, Irving, 71, 102, 131, 132, 140, 143, 162, 163

Brock, Isaac, his birthplace, 1; family of, 5, 6; sent to school, 7; obtains a commission by purchase, 7; purchases his lieutenancy, 8; gazetted as captain, 8; service in the West Indies, 9; purchases a majority, 10; becomes senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th, 10; associated with Nelson and Stewart, 24-5; leads the 49th, 27; arrives in Canada, 33; at York, 48, 60-3; in command at Fort George, 64; his report, 64-7; at Quebec, 69; made a full colonel, 70; as commander-in-chief, 75; his correspondence with President Dunn, 76, 77; correspondence about Indian affairs, 78; looks into

Brock, Isaac—*Continued*
accounts, 79, 80; supervises the marine department, 80; in Quebec, 86, 90; on military service, 96; letter to Colonel Gordon, 97; letters to Ross Cuthbert, 98, 102; leaves Quebec and takes command in Montreal, 99; appointed acting brigadier-general, 99; letter to his brother Irving, 102; returns to Quebec, 115; longing for service in Europe, 123, 124; settled at Fort George, 133; his books, 135-6; letters, 140; a visit to York, 143; correspondence with Sir James Craig, 149, 151, 152, 176; made major-general, 157; appointed president and administrator of the government of Upper Canada, 159; misfortune to, 161-7; declines permission to return to England, 180-1; his measures in the House of Assembly, 184-5; preparations for war, 189-90; letter to Colonel Baynes, 198; general order from Niagara, 205-6; general order from Fort George, 212-13; his appeal, 219-21; his powers in his combined military and civil capacity, 225-7; describes Tecumseh, 247; general order from Amherstburg, 247-8; demands Hull's surrender of Detroit, 250-1; celebrates the victory, 258; regrets the armistice, 261; letter to his brothers, 266-8; receives congratulations from Sir George Prevost, 268-9; writes from Fort George, 272-3; letter *re* the attack on Fort Wayne, 276-7; letter to Savery Brock, 280-1; regiments under his immediate command, 287; his report of the loss of the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*, 290-3; appointed a knight of the Order of the Bath, 296; last letter to Sir George Prevost, 298; his ride to Queenston, 298-301; orders the evacuation of the redan battery, 303; leads the attack on the heights, 304; his death, 304; funeral rites, 312-15
Brock, John, father of Sir Isaac, 6
Brock, Mary, wife of T. Potenger, 71
Brock, Savery, 15, 17, 18, 19, 27, 71, 123, 132, 161, 162, 163, 166
Brock, William, 5, 70, 124, 161, 163, 165, 167
Brownstown, 237, 238, 243, 245
Bruyères, Lieutenant-Colonel, 157, 230

C

Caledonia, brig, 210; captured by Americans, 289-92
Cameron, Captain, 299, 301, 306
Canadien, Le, newspaper, 92, 104, 116, 127, 147
Canning, George, secretary of war, 81, 83, 84, 85, 118, 119, 120, 122
Carleton, Sir Guy, see Lord Dorchester.
Castlereagh, Lord, 103, 118; succeeds the Marquis of Wellesley in office, 191
Chambers, Captain, 218, 235; major, 247
Champagny, Napoleon's secretary of war, 111, 172

INDEX

Château de Ramezay, Brock quartered at, 101
Château St. Louis, 34, 46, 75, 90
Chesapeake, the, 82-6
Chippawa, Fort, 53, 58, 202, 310
Constitution, American frigate, 123, 284
Copenhagen, 23, 26, 30, 31, 106, 124
Craig, Sir James, governor-general and commander-in-chief, 90-2; his first duty, 93; appoints Brock brigadier-general, 99; writes to Lord Castlereagh, 103; distrusts the French Canadians, 104; refers to the effect of the embargo, 115; asks for reinforcements, 118; prorogues the House, 127; seizes the press of *Le Canadien*, 127; unwilling to grant Brock leave of absence, 136; ill health, 142; last public act, 145; his triumph over the assembly, 145; utterly broken down, 147; in reference to the Indians, 149, 153; leaves Canada, 156; his death, 156

D

Dean, private, 236-7, 258
Dearborn, Fort, (Chicago), 174, 266
Dearborn, General (United States), 192, 233, 261, 285
Decrees, Bayonne, 122; Berlin, 81-2, 93, 105, 172, 193; Milan, 110, 172, 193
Detroit, formerly the *Adams*, 274; captured by the Americans, 289-92
Detroit, Fort, 53, 54, 177, 190-1, 195, 197, 218, 235, 238, 245; its attack and capture, 248-60
Dorchester, Lord, (Sir Guy Carleton), 34, 36-8, 47, 53, 56, 75, 103, 152
Drummond, Major-General, 115, 157
Dunn, Thomas, president and acting governor, 69, 73, 76, 77, 86, 94, 96, 157

E

Egmont op Zee, 17, 18
Elliott, Colonel, 230, 245, 280
Elmsley, Chief Justice, 69, 76
Embargo, the, 85, 108; effect of, 109; repeal of, 113
Emulous, vessel, 224
Erie, Fort, 53, 59, 178, 181, 206, 216

F

Fitz Gibbon, Colonel, 18, 66, 67
Florida, West, 42, 43, 112, 139

G

Gallatin, secretary of the United States navy, 81, 108
Ganges, battleship, 27
Gazette, *Upper Canada*, 57; Quebec, 93; Montreal, 93
George, Fort, description of, 56; planned by Simcoe, 58; Procter commands at, 74; boats kept at, 80; Brock winters at, 153; magazines prepared at, 182; Brock's headquarters, 204; counter appeal issued from, 217; another proclamation from, 219; Myers in charge of affairs at, 225; prisoners at, 263-4; Brock buried there, 313
Glegg, Captain, A.D.C., 204, 207, 232, 251, 255, 259, 271, 302

Glengarry Fencibles, proposed, 97-8; the corps raised, 180; Brock proposes giving grants of land to members of, 185; part of the force for the defence of the frontier, 201
Gore, Francis, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 8, 78, 97, 138, 159, 167-8
Guerrière, H.M.S., 173, 284

H

Harrison, General, ("Old Tippecanoe"), 175-6
Henry, John, agent on secret mission, 120, 186-8
Hull, General, marches for Michigan, 203; his advance, 208-9; occupies Sandwich, 213; his proclamation to the people of Canada, 213-14; loses heavy baggage and stores, 218; writes to Washington, 236; abandons Sandwich for Detroit, 238; receives and refuses Brock's demand to surrender, 251; surrenders, 255; criticized, 257; as prisoner of war, 261; home on parole, 283; trial and sentence, 283-4
Humphrey, Captain of the *Leopard*, 83
Hunter, armed brig, 178, 217, 218, 243, 249
Hunter, General, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 45, 50, 51, 59, 60, 63, 65, 69

J

Jefferson, President, 38, 41, 43, 108, 112, 113, 259, 285

K

Kempt, Colonel, afterwards General Sir James, 140-1
Kingston, 56, 65, 178-9, 203, 229, 268

L

Leopard, the, 82-3
Lewiston, 285, 299, 300, 303, 309, 311
Little Belt, a corvette, 173
Louisiana, handed back to France, 38; its purchase, 41-3
Lovett, John, secretary to General Van Rensselaer, 264, 286

M

Macdonell, Lieutenant-Colonel, chosen as aide-de-camp, 230; sent with the demand for the surrender of Detroit, 251; goes back to Detroit to arrange the terms of capitulation, 255; at Vrooman's Point, 301-2; at the battle of Queenston Heights, 305-6.
McArthur, Colonel, United States, 203, 249
Madison, President, 120, 139, 173, 187, 213
Maguaga, 238-43, 245
Malden, Fort, see Amherstburg.
Michilimackinac, Fort, 53, 177, 205, 210-11, 227-8

N

Napoleon, Emperor, 71, 72, 73, 81, 82, 98, 105, 106-8, 111-13, 117-19, 125-6, 172, 188
Nelson, Lord, 24-30, 47
Niagara (Newark), 50; invasion expected between Fort Erie and, 178; Brock gives his attention to,

Niagara (Newark)—*Continued* 195; general order from, 205; well fortified, 225
Niagara, Fort (U.S), 54-6; its attack suggested, 219; stores and troops arriving, 269, 274; silenced, 309
Nichol, Lieutenant-Colonel, 206, 207, 248, 253
Non-Intercourse, Bill, 120

O

Orders-in-Council, 93, 106, 111; withdrawal of, 120-1, 223, 269

P

Panet, Lieutenant-Colonel, speaker of the assembly, 104, 105, 115
President, United States frigate, 173
Prevost, Sir George, arrives in Halifax, 101; assumes command, 157-8; letter from Brock to, 178-9; hampered by home instructions, 184; cautious and forbearing, 190, 194-5, 216, 288, 204; receives word of declaration of war, 207-8; despatch from Brock to, 223; correspondence *re* Brock's powers, 226-7; his views concerning the capture of Fort Michilimackinac, 227-8; congratulates Brock, 268-9; advises evacuation of Detroit, 277
Procter, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands at Fort George, 74; to assume command between Niagara and Fort Erie, 205-6; sent to Amherstburg, 216; sends a detachment to Brownstown, 237; in charge of the western district, 247; in command at Detroit, 262; letter from Brock to, 293; compared with Brock, 312

Q

Quebec, description of, 33-4; centre of society, 46; mutineers and deserters sentenced at, 63; Brock quartered at, 69; 49th and 100th Regiments there, 74; fortifications of, 75-7, 94; boats at, 80; old, 89-98; gaiety in, 132; House of Assembly at, 143-5; the town militia volunteers, 205
Queenston, 58, 61, 206; battle of Queenston Heights, 298-312

R

Ridout, Surveyor-General, letter from, 168
Roberts, Captain, 202, 205, 210, 227
Robinson, Lieutenant, afterwards Sir John Beverley, 298, 299(note), 302, 305, 314
Rolette, Lieutenant, 218, 243, 292
Rottenburg, Colonel Baron de, 123, 134, 137, 217
Ryland, H. W., secretary, 47, 86, 92, 105, 120, 129, 145-7, 186, 203

S

Sacketts Harbour, 178, 261, 269, 270, 271
Sandwich, 50, 213, 218, 229, 238, 248, 250, 251
Saumarez, Admiral Lord de, 6, 124
Sheaffe, Lieutenant-Colonel, at Egmont op Zee, 19; in command in Jersey, 22; at Fort George, 48; mutiny under, 61-4; in Quebec, 74; a hint from Thornton, 159; major-general on the staff, 223; at Queenston Heights, 309-12

St. George, Colonel, 214, 216, 218, 236, 247
St. Joseph, Fort, 74, 202, 204, 210, 227

T

Tecumseh, Indian chief, 150-1, 174-6, 237-8, 243, 245-7, 251, 254, 257

V

Van Rensselaer, Major-General, 384, 285, 288
Van Rensselaer, Colonel, 284 (note), 300
Vincent, Colonel, 124, 134, 229
Vesey, Colonel, 138-9, 153-4; made major-general, 157

W

Wadsworth, Brigadier-General, 213
Wayne, Fort, a base of supplies for the United States army, 262; unsuccessful expedition against, 274-5
William Henry, Fort, 80, 283
Windham, Rt. Hon. W., secretary of the colonies, 75

Y

York, Duke of, 13, 15, 16, 20-1, 64, 70, 155, 159
York (Toronto), 45, 51; seat of government, 57; number of vessels at, 80; its fortifications begun, 182; House of Assembly opened at, 183; news of declaration of war reaches Brock at, 204; Brock returns to, 221-3

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